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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes demographic, economic, and social statistics on Canada's rural and small towns through 1989. Rural and small towns include areas with populations of less than 10,000 persons or a population density of less than 400 per square kilometer. The first section examines rural-urban differences in population trends and age structures as well as migration patterns between rural and urban areas. The second section focuses on the labor market and compares rural and urban Canada in terms of labor force participation, employment by industry, and unemployment rates. The last section focuses on social indicators, including rural and urban trends in family income, income inequality, education, literacy levels, and crime rates. Data indicate that while the urbanization of the Canadian population has continued virtually unabated since 1851, the rural population has exhibited steady growth in absolute terms. Although the service sector of rural and small towns has grown in both absolute and relative terms since 1976, primary employment remains concentrated in rural areas. However, the decline in agricultural employment and primary industry employment has led to a decline in the rural share of employment growth. As to social indicators, the lowest average incomes were found in rural areas and small towns with populations less than 30,000. However, rural Canada had the lowest incidence of low-income families, the least extreme income inequality rates, and the lowest crime rates. Educational levels were directly related to population size. For example, the share of the relevant population with some postsecondary education increased with the degree of urbanization. In addition, rural and small towns with populations of less than 5,000 had a higher proportion of individuals over 15 years old with less than a ninth-grade education, when compared to large urban centers. Includes 71 figures, references, and rural population statistics for Canada and its provinces during 1931-86. (LP)

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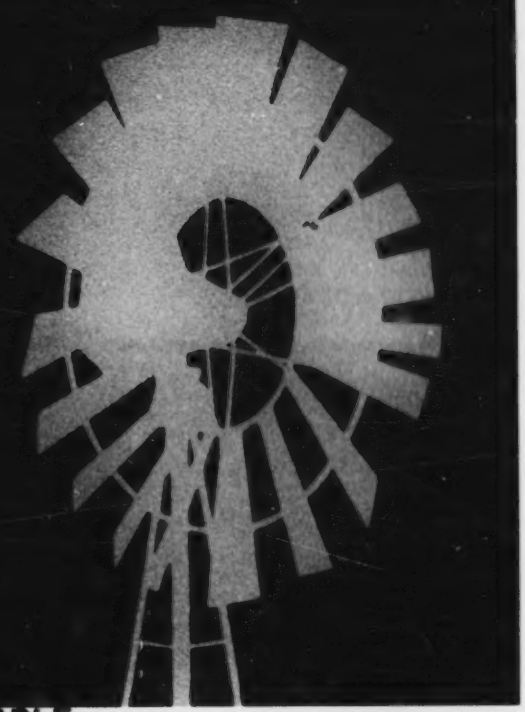
Trends and Characteristics of Rural and Small Town Canada



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Trends and Characteristics of Rural and Small Town Canada

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Statistics Canada
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Trends and Characteristics of Rural and Small Town Canada

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Rural and Small Town Canada is summarized is terms of various demographic and socioeconomic variables. The study is primarily on a national scale and, for the most part, uses the Statistics Canada definition of "rural" which is based on population level and density thresholds. Hence, the diversity of Rural and Small Town Canada that results from varying degrees of remoteness from large urban centres and different resource bases is largely not addressed. This overview is a necessary precursor to more disaggregated studies which are needed to inform the debate on future policies concerning rural development.

The examination of demographic trends showed that while the urbanization of the Canadian population has continued virtually unabated since 1851, the rural population has exhibited steady growth in absolute terms. After a brief cessation of the urbanization trend during the 1971-1976 period, urban growth rates once again exceeded rural growth rates in the following two intercensal periods. Since 1971, internal migration between rural and urban areas have had a positive net effect on rural population levels while the rural farm population has continued to decline. Growth in the rural non-farm population is concentrated in areas adjacent to major urban centres. The population of Small Town Canada (i.e., urban centres with less than 10,000 residents) have remained at their 1951 levels.

An analysis of the labour market characteristics of Rural and Small Town Canada demonstrated that while its service sector has grown in both absolute and relative terms since 1976, primary employment remains concentrated in rural areas. The absolute decline in agricultural employment and the relative decline in employment in other primary industries has led to a decline in the rural share of employment growth. The slower employment growth in Rural and Small Town Canada is reflected in the divergence of rural and urban unemployment rates since 1983. By 1989, the Rural and Small Town unemployment rate was 1.7 percentage points higher than the rate in larger urban centres.

The overview of indicators of well-being showed that the lowest average incomes were found in rural and small town (population < 30,000) populations. However, Rural Canada had the lowest incidence of low income families and the least extreme income inequality across urban size classes. Rural family income benefited the most from government tax and transfer policies. Education and literacy levels were lower in Rural and Small Town Canada as were crime rates.

1. INTRODUCTION

Rural and Small Town Canada is undergoing a transformation. Global restructuring of commodity and financial markets, rapid technological change and policy responses to this changing environment will continue to influence rural and small town development. A large portion of Canada's natural resource base and a significant share of its population reside in Rural Canada. Hence, the development of Rural Canada should be a concern to all Canadians. While specific issues have received attention by researchers, there has no recent statistical overview of Rural Canada. The purpose of this paper is to fill this gap by providing a summary of the demographic, economic and social statistics on Rural and Small Town Canada. By doing so, this paper will undoubtedly add fuel to the debate on future alternatives for this enduring part of the Canadian landscape.

Rural and Small Town Canada comprises a massive geographical area with a population that is diverse in both its problems and opportunities. Rural areas in close proximity to large urban centres are less affected by the constraints of distance than the remote hinterland. The heterogeneity of Rural Canada is reinforced by the spatial variance in climate and resources. Different resource bases generate different economic and social conditions associated with their exploitation. For example, consider the different socioeconomic reality associated with a tourist area in "Cottage Country" as opposed to a mining community in Northern B.C.. The possibility exists that this heterogeneity of rural areas may make the urban/rural distinction more misleading than informative.

The aggregate nature of the statistics presented here hide the diversity that exists within Rural (and Urban) Canada. This defect is only partially addressed by analyzing, wherever possible, subgroups of rural and urban populations. Given the focus on rural development, the description of rural and small town conditions is placed in a historical setting by analyzing the trends in various demographic and economic variables. Data on Urban Canada will also be presented in order to provide some context to these trends.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first deals with the demographics of Rural and Small Town Canada. Trends in the levels and characteristics of the people affect and are affected by changes in their economic and social structure. This section examines rural/urban differences in population trends and age structures as well as the migration between rural and urban areas. The next section focuses on a primary element of rural development strategies - the labour market.

Comparisons between Rural and Urban Canada are made to investigate whether significant differences exist in the levels or trends of such variables as labour force participation, employment by industry and unemployment rates. The third section attempts to address the question of urban/rural differences in well-being - differences that are often the focus of rural policy initiatives. This section looks at the trends in family income and income inequality as well as other indicators of well-being such as education, literacy levels and crime rates.

1.1 Definitions

Before summarizing the data, a brief discussion of the definitions used in generating these numbers is unavoidable for their meaningful interpretation. Arbitrariness is an inevitable by-product of the process of providing operational definitions for classifying areas as urban or rural. Rurality is itself an amorphous concept. Any dichotomous categorization will be somewhat inadequate in describing the amalgam of socioeconomic and geographic factors that contribute to the rural experience. For consistency, this paper will, for the most part, adhere to the Statistics Canada definition of rural (see Table 1).

Statistics Canada definitions are a result of two mutually incompatible considerations. First is the concern that continual redefinition of concepts inhibits the comparability of statistics over time and hence their usefulness in analyzing trends. Second is the desire to accommodate these definitions to a changing socioeconomic reality in order to maintain some degree of relevance. Over the past 60 years, these changes in the definitions of "rural" and "urban" have increasingly added a spatial dimension to account for the phenomenon of urban sprawl. Today urban areas are not only defined in terms of number of residents (as was the case in 1931) but include requirements for population density and geographical proximity to an urban core area. As well, the rural/urban dichotomy has been decomposed (at the CMA, CA level) into urbanized core, urban fringe and rural fringe categories in order to reflect the varying degrees of social and economic integration of regions adjacent to major cities.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

2.1 Population Trends

2.1.1 Rural/Urban Population Trends

Since rural population is measured as a residual, changes to urban definitions necessarily have an effect on rural population figures. Table 1 presents a summary of the changes pertaining to the demarcation of urban areas that have occurred since 1931. A cursory examination of these definitional changes suggest that, collectively, they have not added a unidirectional bias to the trend towards urbanization. For example, the 1951 changes reclassified large unincorporated towns as urban thereby increasing urban population while the 1961 definitional changes had the opposite effect by setting down stricter criteria for urban classification.

TABLE 1
History of Population Definitions

Census Year(s)	Definitions
1931,1941	The population residing within the boundaries of incorporated cities, towns and villages, regardless of size, was classified as urban and the remainder as rural.
1951	The urban population includes all persons residing in cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, whether incorporated or unincorporated as well as the population of all parts of census metropolitan areas. All others were classified as rural farm or rural non-farm.
1956	The urban population definition is the same as 1951 except that the fringe parts of other major urban areas (areas which had cities with populations between 30,000 and 100,000 and possessed similar economic, geographic and social relationships) were categorized as urban.
1961,1966,1971	The urban areas included persons living in (1) incorporated cities, towns and villages with a population of 1,000 or more, (2) unincorporated places of 1,000 or more having a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile, and (3) the urbanized fringe of (1) and (2) where a minimum population of 1,000 and a density of at least 1,000 per square mile existed.
1976	The urban population density was 1,000 persons per square mile with a maximum discontinuity of 1 mile.
1981,1986	Persons living in continuously built-up areas having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and population density of 400 per square kilometre, based on the previous census

NATIONAL TRENDS

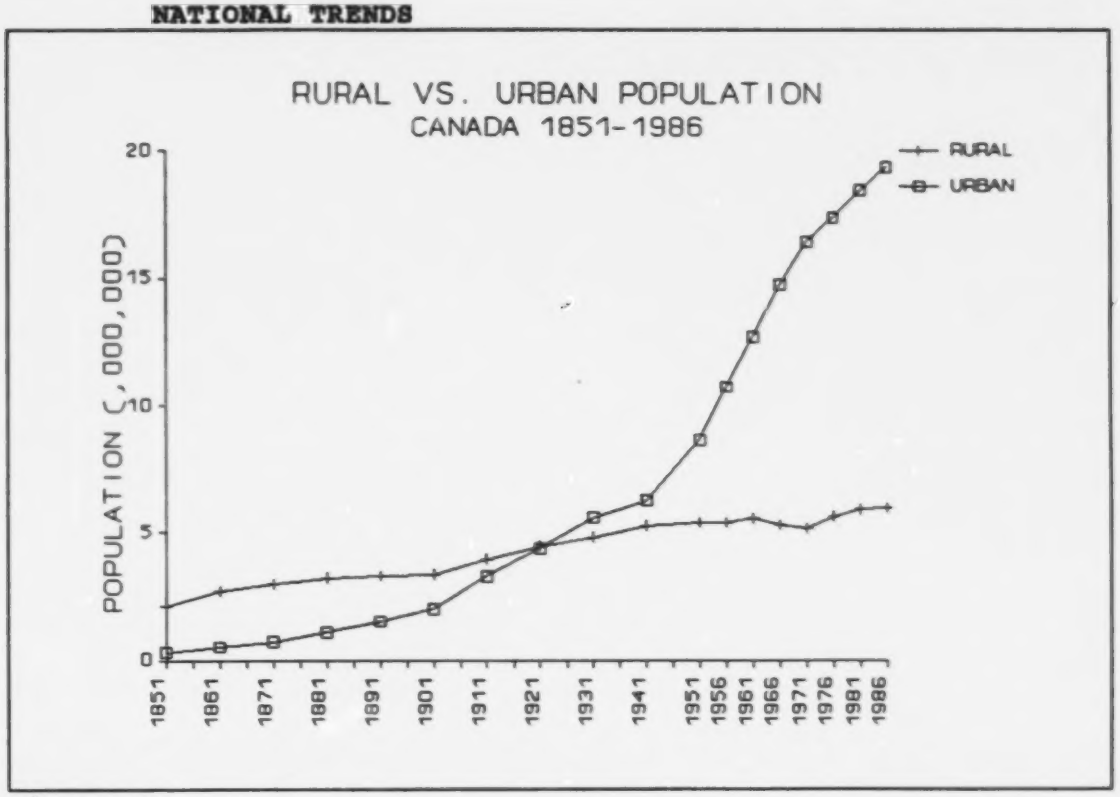

Figure 1

As shown in Figure 1, there has been an undeniable trend towards urbanization over the past 135 years. Urban population has increased from 13% of the population in 1851 to 76% in 1986. The last reported rural majority was in the 1911 Census. This trend towards urbanization, characterized by urban growth rates exceeding rural growth rates, was uninterrupted from 1861 to the early 1970s. However, the 1971-1976 census data revealed a reversal of this trend when rural population growth rates exceeded urban rates (Figure 3).

The interruption of the urbanization trend, which also occurred in the U.S. and other developed nations, sparked some speculation concerning a 'rural renaissance' and provoked research into the reasons for and even the existence of a turnaround. This literature as it pertains to Canada could be summarized as follows:

i) There was significant net migration within Canada to rural areas during the 1970s (e.g., see Field 1988). Its effect on urbanization was offset to some extent by the disproportional influx of immigrants to urban areas. (Changes in rural/urban

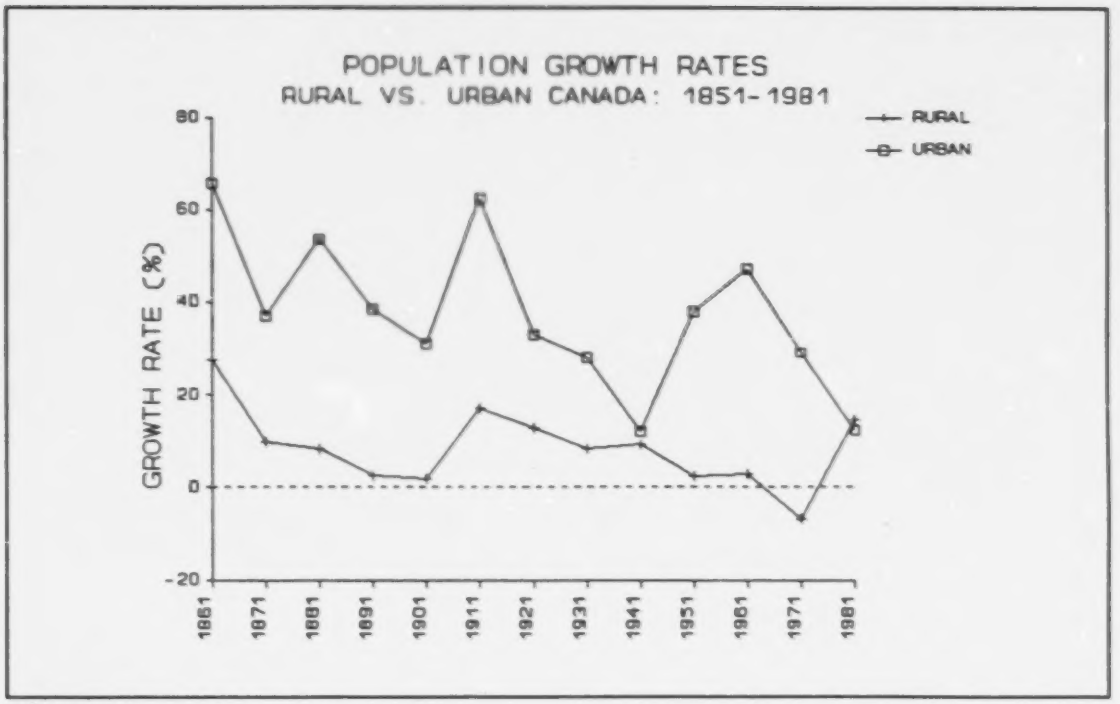

Figure 2

population ratio is a function of the differential in birth/death rates, migration between rural/urban areas within the region (nation) being considered, and locational decisions of immigrants.)

ii) There exists a cyclical pattern to the growth rates of the rural non-farm population attributable in large measure to the reclassification of rural areas to urban. Rapid population growth in rural areas adjacent to urban areas leads to their subsequent reclassification through a) urban boundary expansion, b) fringe populations achieving urban density thresholds and c) the attainment by rural communities of urban population levels. Reclassification is part of the natural process of urban expansion and its effects are included in Statistics Canada data. However, one should be cautious of interpreting higher rural than urban growth rates during a single intercensal period as a significant back-to-the-land movement given these reclassification effects [Keddie and Joseph, 1990a].

iii) A considerable proportion of rural population growth occurred in areas close to major urban centres suggesting that some of the growth could be attributed to urban spillover [Joseph, Keddie, and Smit, 1988].

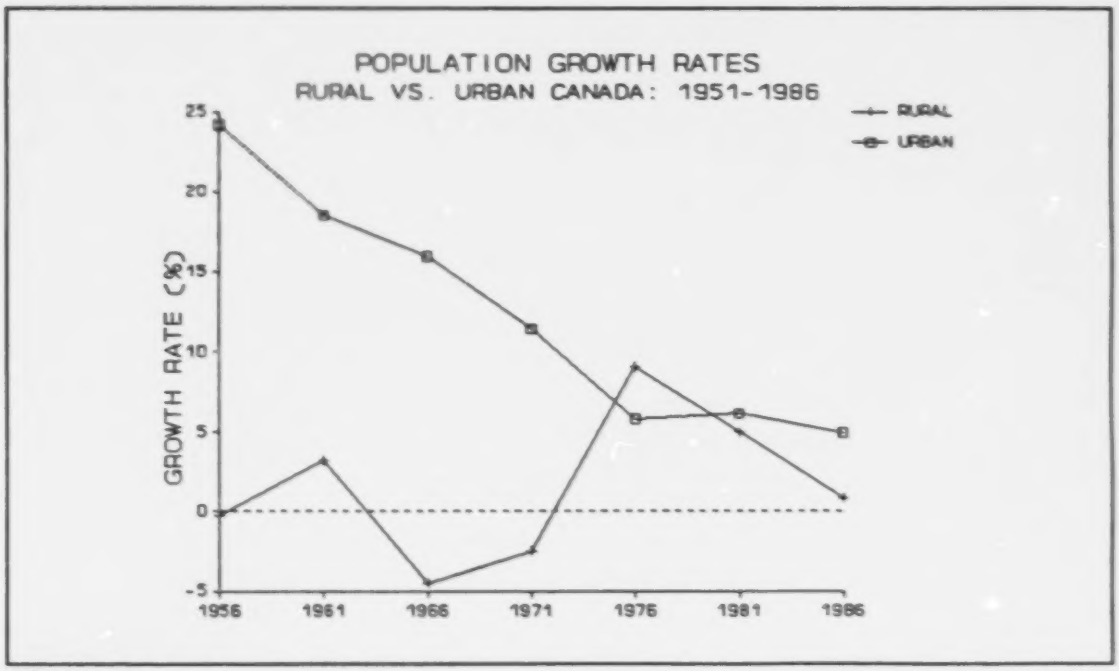

Figure 3

(iv) The rate at which Canada's rural population is growing depends on how it is measured. By imposing the rural/urban designations of the last census on the data from previous censuses one obtains an estimate of population growth within fixed geographical boundaries. Given that reclassification is increasingly redefining rural areas as urban, this method will yield a smaller estimate of "rural" population for previous census years and hence higher "rural" population growth rates than measurements that do not adjust previous designations of rural/urban areas.

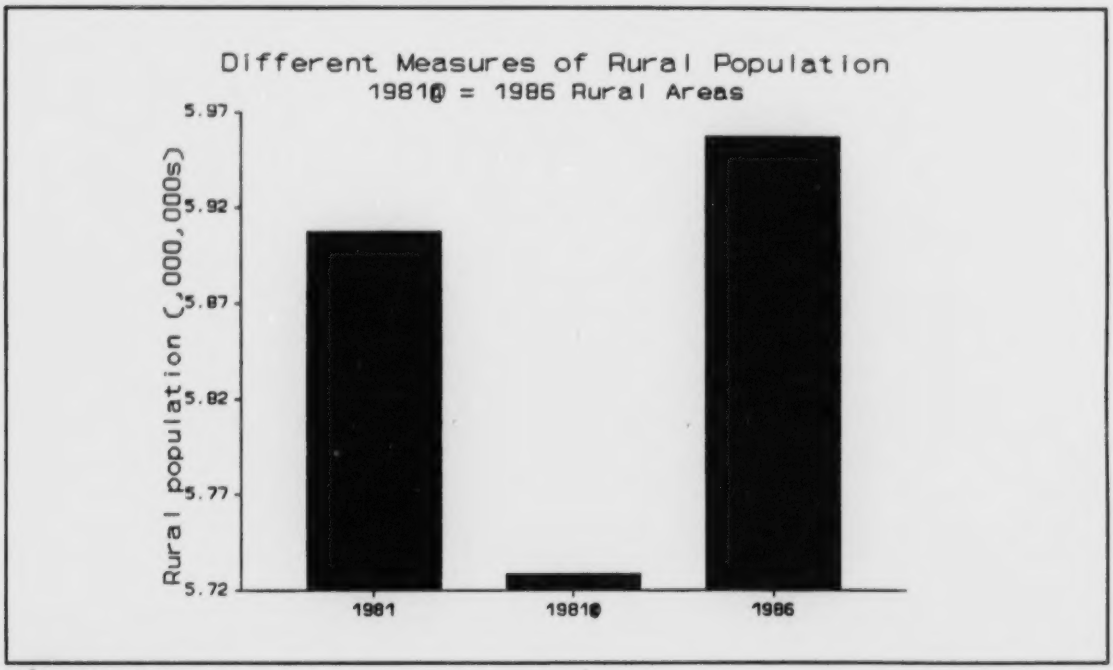

Figure 4

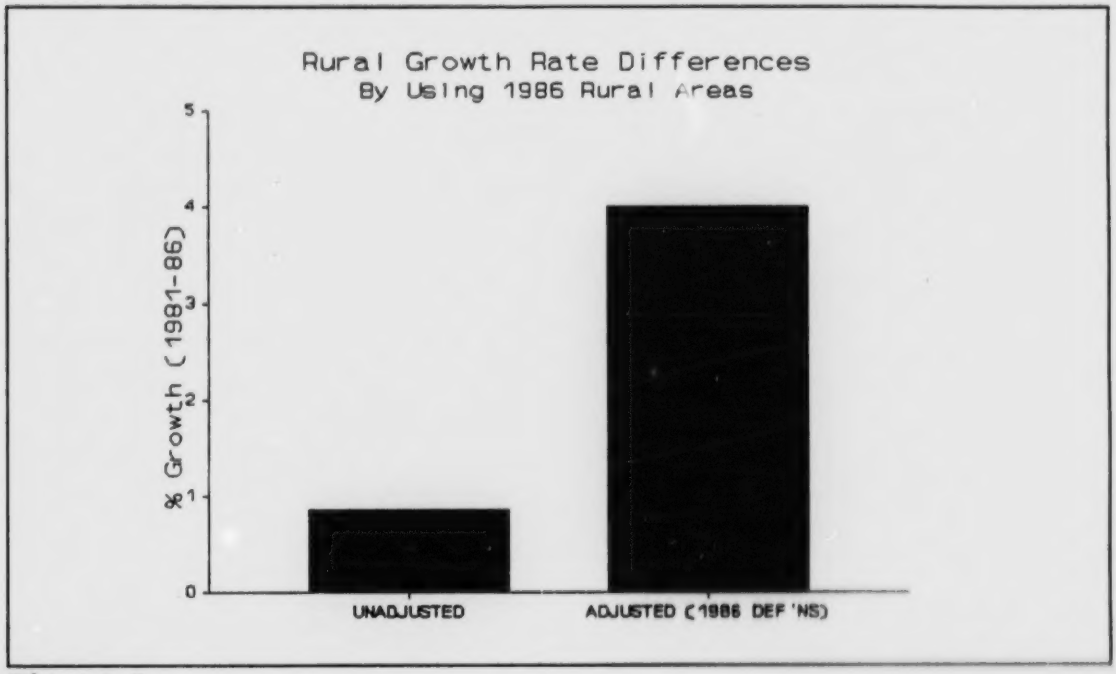

Figure 5

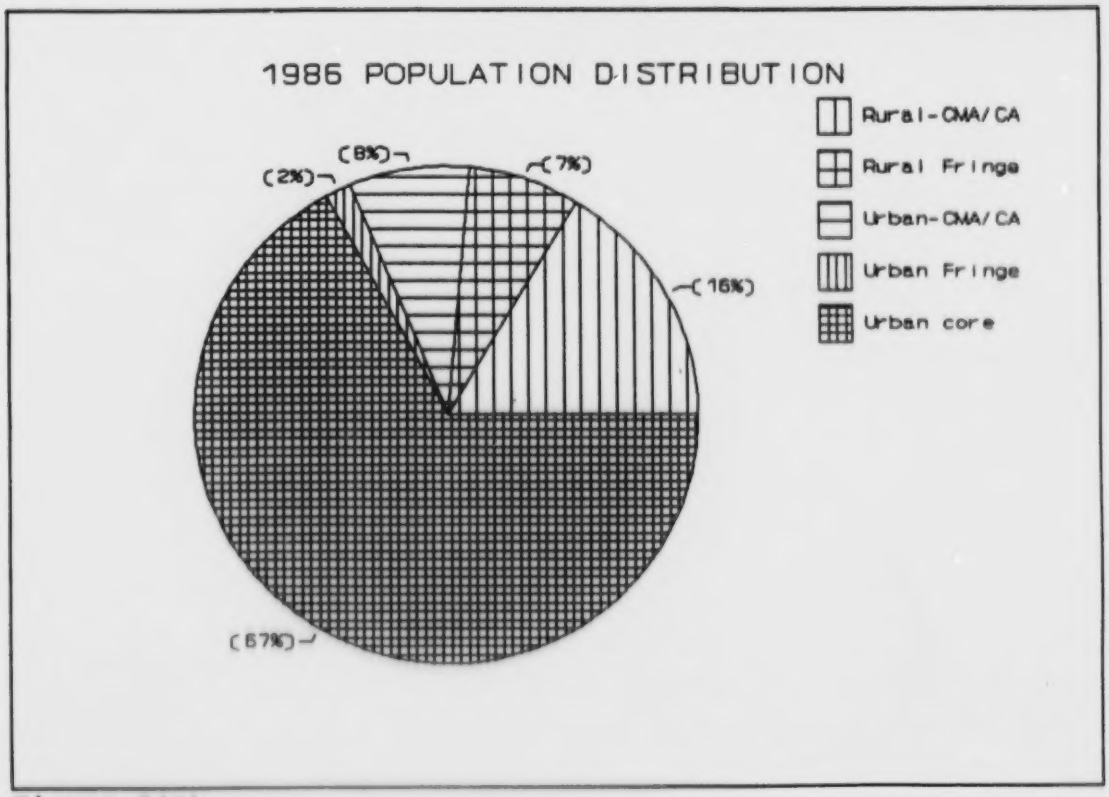

Figure 6(a)

DEFINITIONS

urban = persons living in continuously built-up areas having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and population density of 400 per square kilometre (based on previous census).

rural = non-urban population

CA = main labour market area of an urbanized core of at least 10,000 population (based on the previbus census). Comprised of census subdivisions (CSDs) which meet at least one of these criterion:
(1) the CSD falls entirely within the urbanized core
(2) at least 50% of the employed labour force living in the CSD works in the urbanized core
(3) at least 25% of the employed labour force working in the CSD lives in the urbanized core.

CMA = an area previously classified as a CA that has reached a urbanized core population of at least 100,000 (based on the previous census).

Urbanized core = a large urban area around which a CMA or a CA is delineated.

Urban fringe = an urban area within a CMA or Ca, but outside of the urbanized core.

Rural fringe = all territory within a CMA or CA lying outside of urban areas.

Rural(Urban) - CMA/CA = rural (urban) areas outside CMAs and CAs.

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As shown in Figures 4 and 5, the application of 1986 boundaries on 1981 data results in the reclassification of 160,000 rural residents as urban. As a consequence, the adjusted rural growth rate is 3 percentage points higher than the unadjusted rate. If reclassification is viewed as part of the natural growth process of urban centres, this method which defines rural areas in terms of unchanging geographical entities will overstate rural population growth [Keddie and Joseph, 1990a].

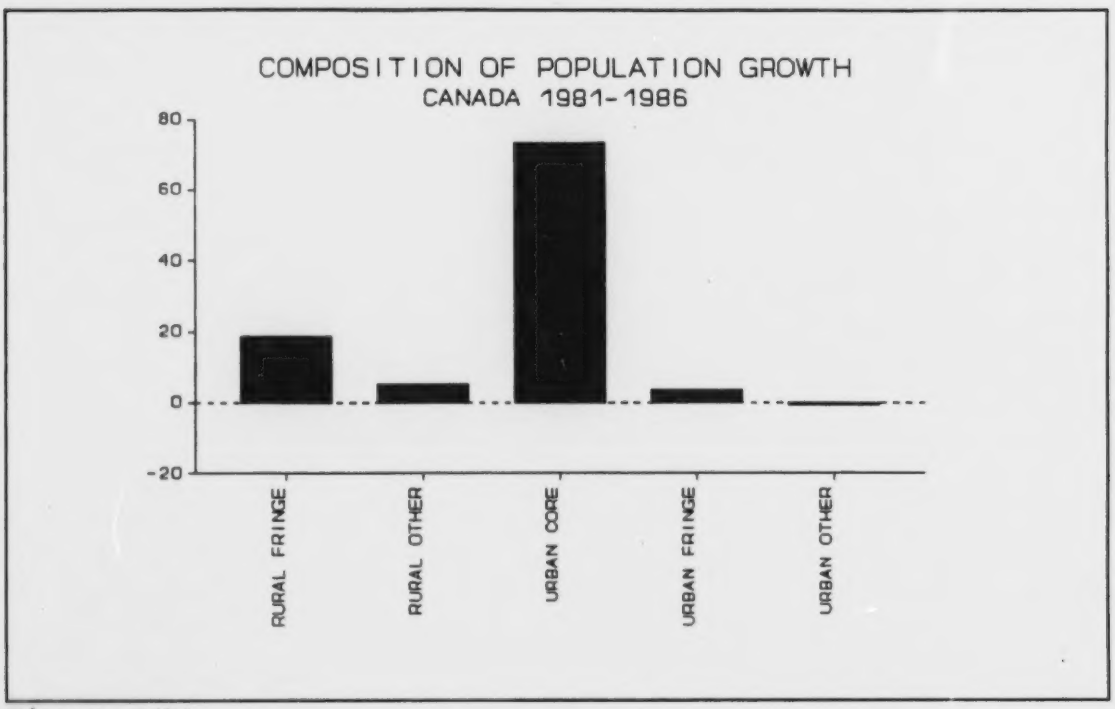

Figure 6(b)

Urban growth rates have exceeded rural growth rates since 1976. The marginal difference between urban and rural growth rates evident in the 1976-1981 period (1%) increased in the following intercensal period (4%). Thus, the turnaround of the urbanization trend appears to have been an ephemeral phenomenon. Nevertheless, there has been historically small differences between rural and urban growth rates since 1971 which suggests that while the trend towards urbanization is not reversing, it has slowed down markedly.

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[1] If not otherwise stated, the data presented here will not be adjusted for boundary changes. Also in order to highlight trends and make urban/rural differences more perceptible, the vertical axis in some graphs does not include zero.

In absolute terms the rural population have increased since rural/urban statistics were first compiled in 1871. (There was a brief period of decline during the 1960s as well as a marginal decline from 1951-1956 that could be attributable to a definitional change). In 1986, just under 6 million Canadians were classified as residing in rural areas. However, approximately three quarters of the total population growth between 1981 and 1986 occurred in the urban core regions. During the same period, rural population growth was primarily located in the rural fringe areas that surround large urban centres (see Figures 6 (a) and (b)).

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

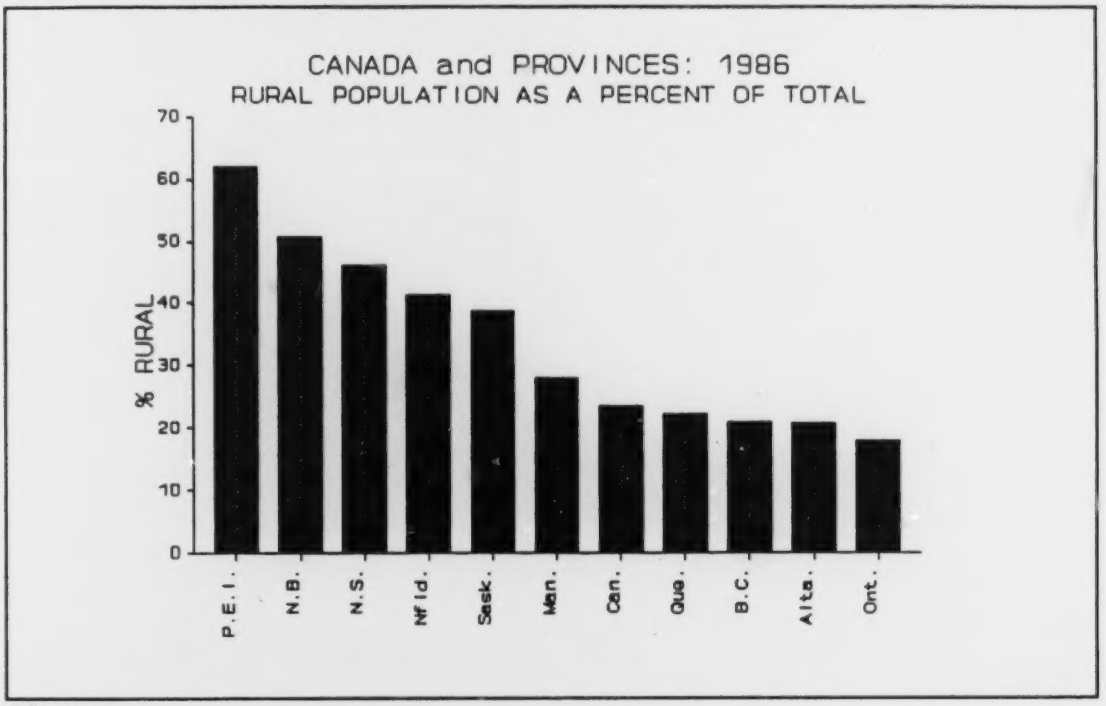

Figure 7

In 1986, only two provinces had predominantly rural populations - P.E.I. and New Brunswick (Figure 7).[2] Although the most densely populated province, P.E.I. has maintained its rural nature since Confederation. In P.E.I the trend towards urbanization was halted in 1976 but by 1986 urban growth rates had once again exceeded rural growth rates. New Brunswick became an urban majority in 1966 but returned to its previous rural status by 1986. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were the only two provinces which had higher rural than urban growth rates recorded for the

[2] Figures pertaining to provincial data are in the appendix.

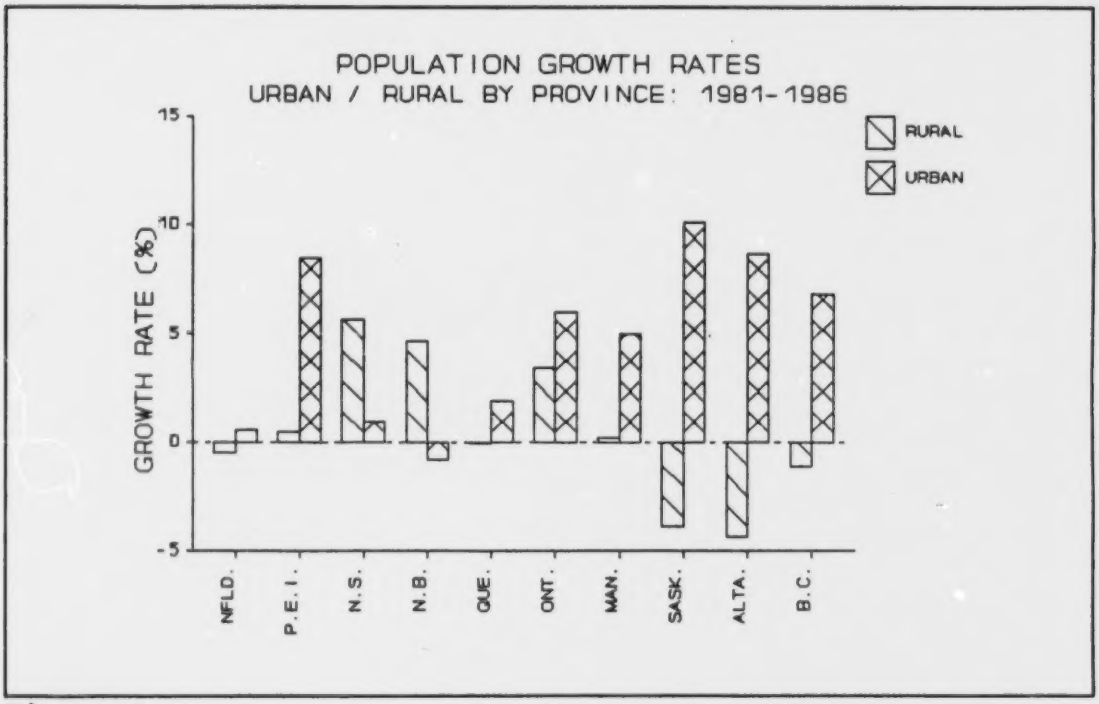

Figure 8

1981-1986 census period (Figure 8). During the same period, B.C., Newfoundland, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec experienced an absolute decline in their rural population. In the case of Quebec, this slight decline followed a period (1971-1981) of considerable rural population growth, both in absolute terms and relative to urban rates. This growth was prevalent in both rural fringe and more remote areas [Keddie and Joseph, 1990b].

Saskatchewan, the province that to many embodies their notion of "rural life" has reported a rural population minority since the 1971 Census. Its trend towards urbanization has been uninterrupted since 1956. Moreover, Saskatchewan has experienced an absolute decline in its rural population in every censal period since 1941.

2.1.2 Rural and Small Town Population Trends

NATIONAL TRENDS

The population of Small Town and Rural Canada is composed of rural residents and persons residing in urban areas with populations less than 10,000. As with Rural Canada, it has experienced a decrease in its size relative to larger urban centres (population of 10,000 and over). In 1951 the majority of Canadians lived in Small Town and Rural Canada (Figure 9).

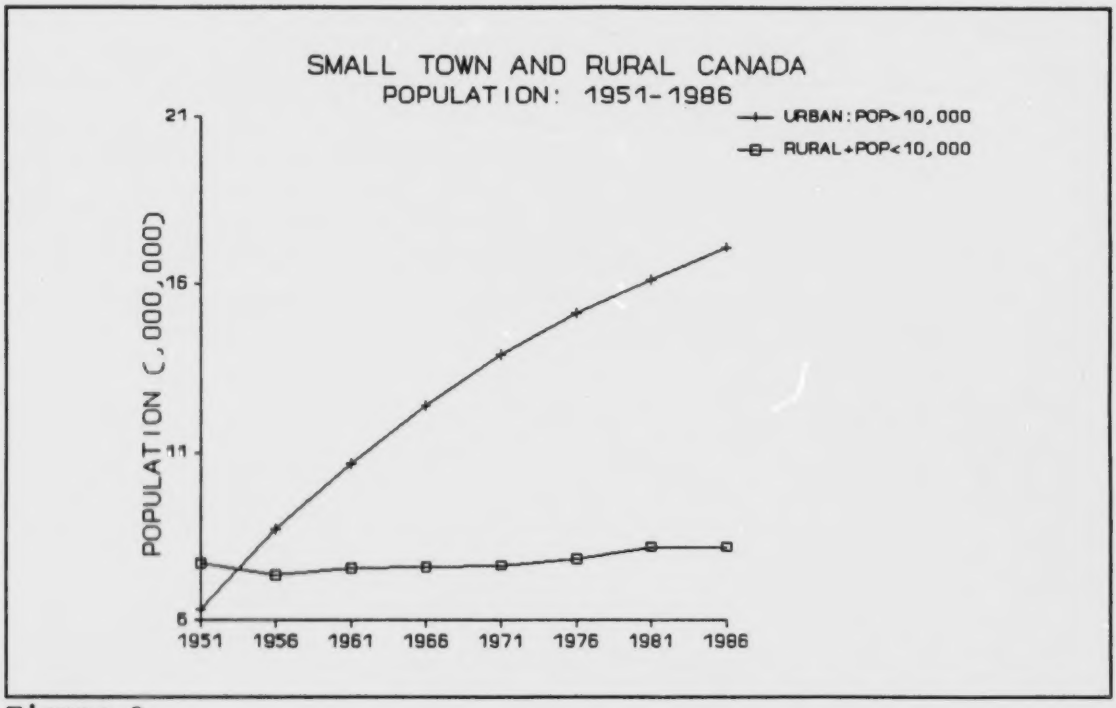

Figure 9

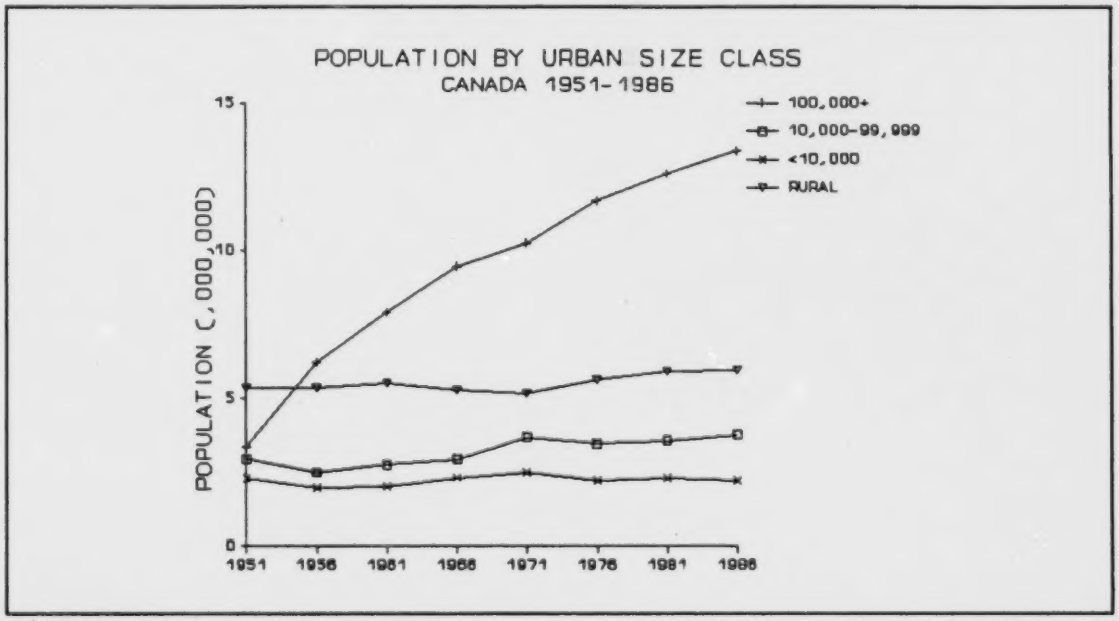

Figure 10

Since that time, population in larger urban areas has increased by 170% while small town and rural growth was below 7%.

This growth of larger urban centres appears to be driven by the growth in centres with populations of 100,000 and over (Figure 10). However, some of this growth differential is a result of some urban centres achieving the 100,000 population threshold (e.g., London, Kitchener, Thunder Bay, Regina and Saskatoon). Since 1951, the small town population has remained essentially constant. Growth in Small Town and Rural Canada has lagged behind that of larger urban centres in each of the last two intercensal periods (Figure 11). From 1981 to 1986, there was a marginal decline in small town and rural population brought about in part by a decrease in the small town population. In 1986, 32% of Canadians lived in small towns and rural areas.

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

Less than forty years ago only two provinces, B.C. and Ontario, had the majority of its population residing in larger urban centres. In 1986, small town and rural majorities remained in the Atlantic Provinces and Saskatchewan. Hence, in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan small town and rural majorities exist where rural majorities do not.

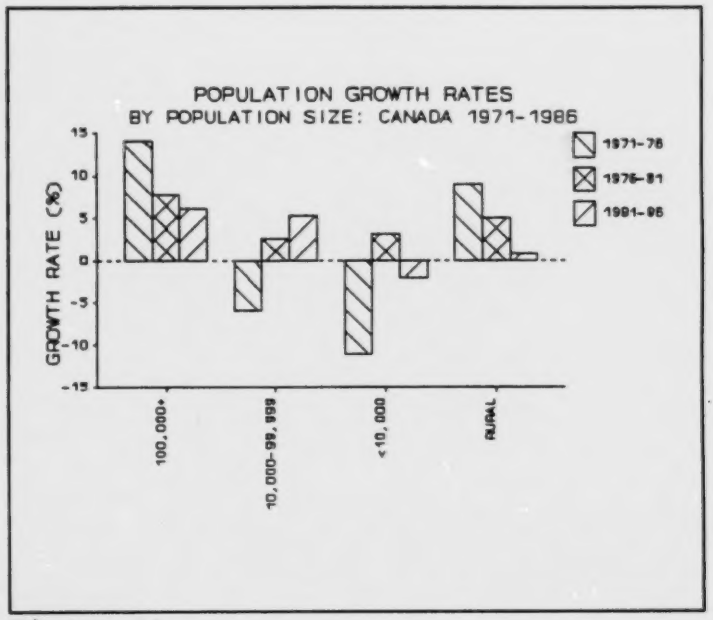

Figure 11

During the 1951-1986 period large urban growth rates exceeded small town and rural growth rates in every province. The latter were highest in B.C. and Alberta (which also had among the highest growth rates in large urban areas) while absolute decreases in small town population occurred in Manitoba and Quebec. In the 1981-1986 period, six provinces had declining small town and rural populations with the largest decreases evident in Western Canada.

2.1.3 Trends in Rural Farm and Rural Nonfarm Population

NATIONAL TRENDS

Rural farm population has declined both in absolute terms and relative to total rural population since statistics were first compiled on farm population in 1931. Changes to the definition of a farm in 1981[3] increased the sales requirement to $250 (previously it was $50) but also restricted the application of "rural farm resident" to farm operators and their households (previously it was all residents of census farm buildings). Clearly, this latter change lead to a transfer of "farm" population to "rural non-farm" population. Despite these recent modifications, the long run trend of a declining rural farm population is undeniable. For example the 1981-1986 period, which was unaffected by definitional changes, saw a 14% decrease in the rural farm population.

Since 1931, rural farm population declined by 2.3 million to its 1986 level of just under 900,000. During the same period the proportion of the rural population classified as farm residents decreased from 67% to 15%. By the 1956 Census, the rural farm population was a minority of the rural population.

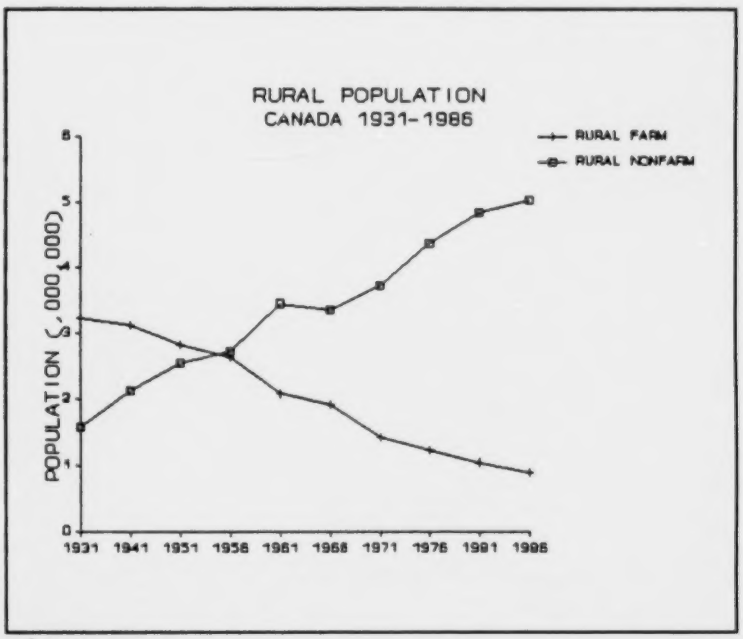

Figure 12

The rural non-farm population shows an opposite but equally uniform trend. It has increased from 1.6 million (1931) to 5 million (1986) and now represents 85% of the rural population.

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

In 1986, Saskatchewan had the largest rural farm population

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[3] Definitional changes pertaining to the farm population made in 1976 had no effect on the data used here since 1971 definitions were imposed on the 1976 data. The rural farm and rural non-farm data used here excludes the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

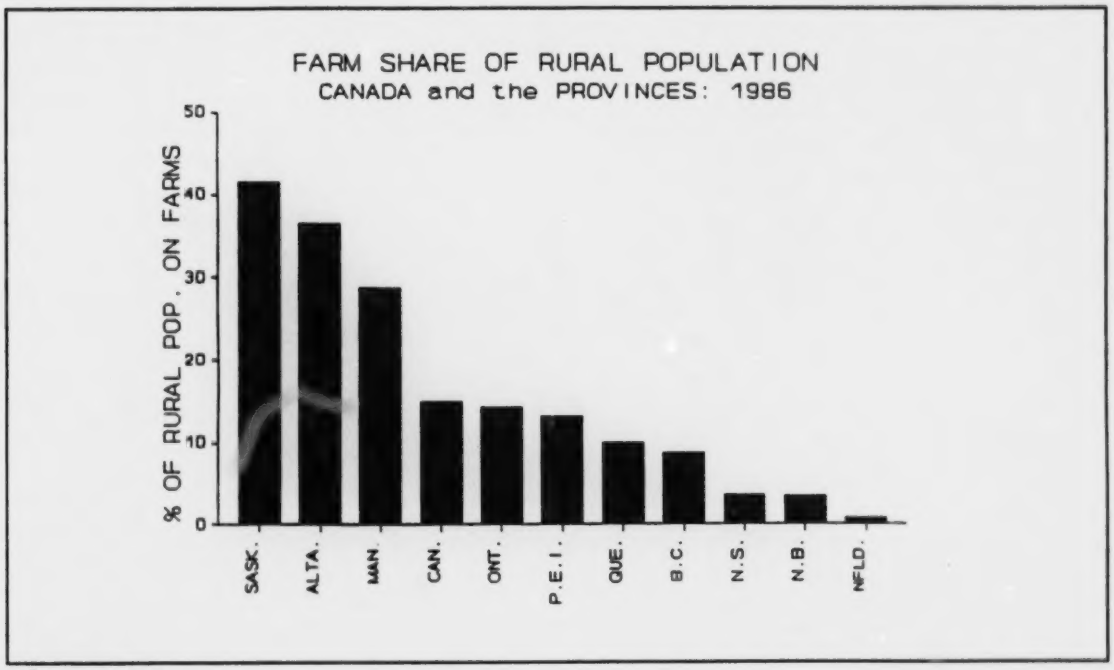

Figure 13

relative to both its total population (16% - the national figure being 4%) and its total rural population (41% - nationally 15%) than any other province. Hence, in no province was the farm population a rural majority. This is in sharp contrast to 1931 when this was true of only one province -British Columbia. One of the more dramatic examples of the shifting composition of the rural population occurred in P.E.I.(one of two "rural" provinces) where the farm component of the rural population fell from 81% in 1931 to 13% in 1986.

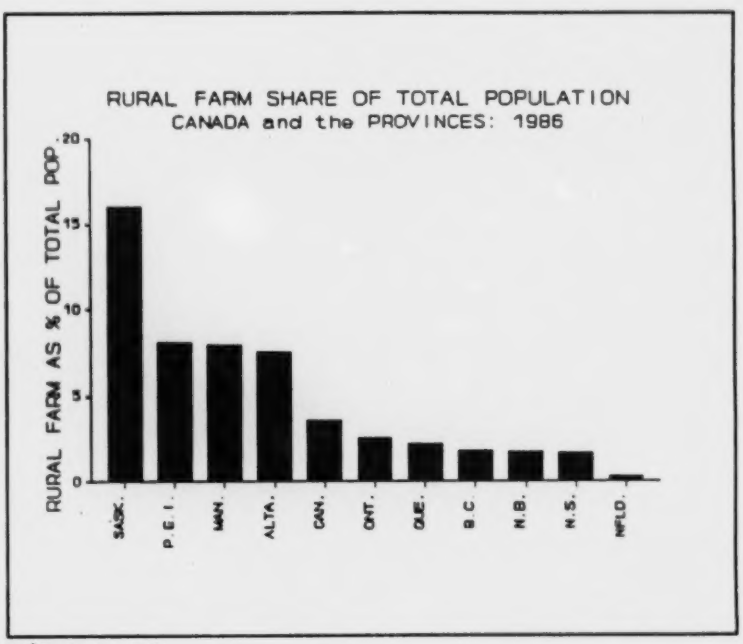

Figure 14

2.2 Rural - Urban Mobility

Migration patterns (especially interprovincial migration) have tended to show large fluctuations over time [Vanderkamp and Grant, 1988]. Sources of changes to migration patterns are commonly categorized in terms of (i) lag effects of previous migration patterns (i.e., return migration of a previous influx of migrants), (ii) changes in preferences concerning types of habitats and (iii) response to economic fluctuations.

Migration can be conceptualized in terms of two distinct but interdependent decisions by the individual - the decision to move away from a certain area and the choice of a destination. Internal migration ratios reflect the relative strength of these push - pull factors in interregional population exchanges. For example, outmigration rates, defined in terms of the number of outmigrants (i.e., number of persons who reside in a census subdivision different from the one they resided in at the time of the previous census) relative to the population exposed to the risk of migrating, provides a summary measure of the strength of the economic, demographic and social pressures that induce population movements away from a region. Over the last intercensal period there has been a decline in both the rural and urban outmigration ratios (Figures 15 and 16).[4] In particular, the push factors that have influenced urban residents to leave their municipalities has weakened markedly. The strength of these factors as measured by outmigration ratios, were roughly of the same magnitude across urban/rural lines for the 1981-1986 period.[5]

Not surprisingly, inmigration ratios, which reflect the amalgam of forces that attract migrants to certain regions, also fell significantly during the previous two intercensal periods. For both the 1976-1981 and 1981-1986 periods, the rural inmigration ratio exceeded its outmigration ratio while the opposite was true in urban areas.

---

[4] The 1966-1971 period is marked with an asterisk (*) in both Figure 13 and Figure 14 to denote that the data for that period does not separate the rural/urban components in a Census metropolitan area (CMA). The rural population of a CMA was classified as urban.

[5] Inmigration ratios can be greater than outmigration ratios for both rural and urban areas during the same period (e.g., 1966-1971). The principal reason for this is that not all urban outmigrants are rural inmigrants. Urban outmigrants are persons that have moved from their urban census subdivision - many choose to reside in another urban setting.

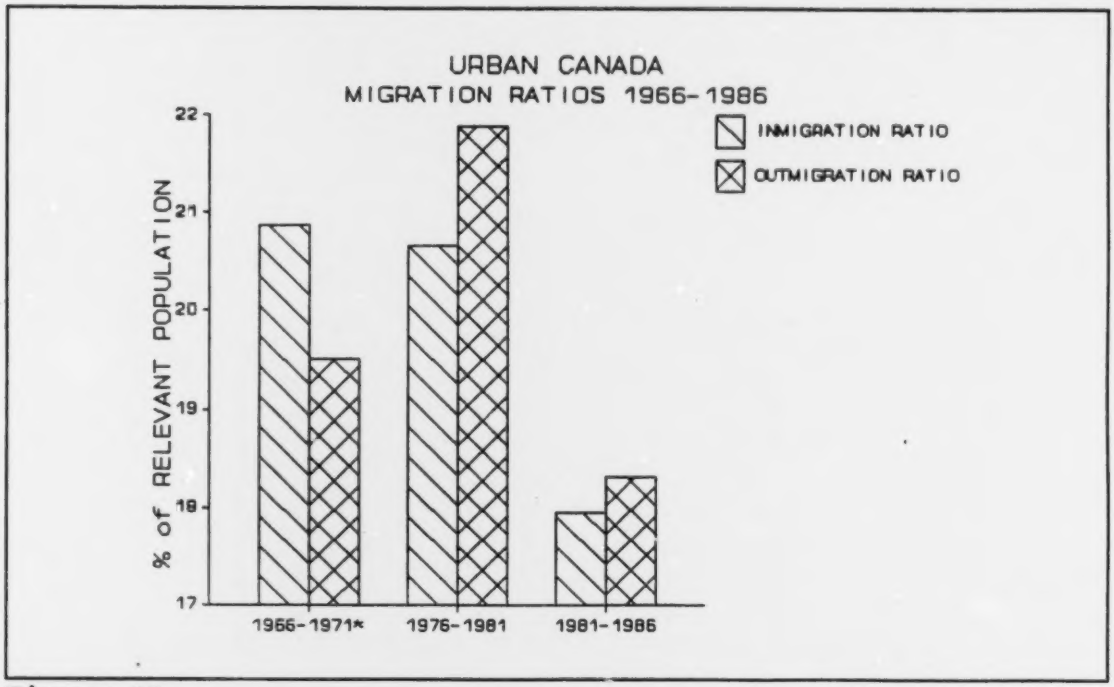

Figure 15

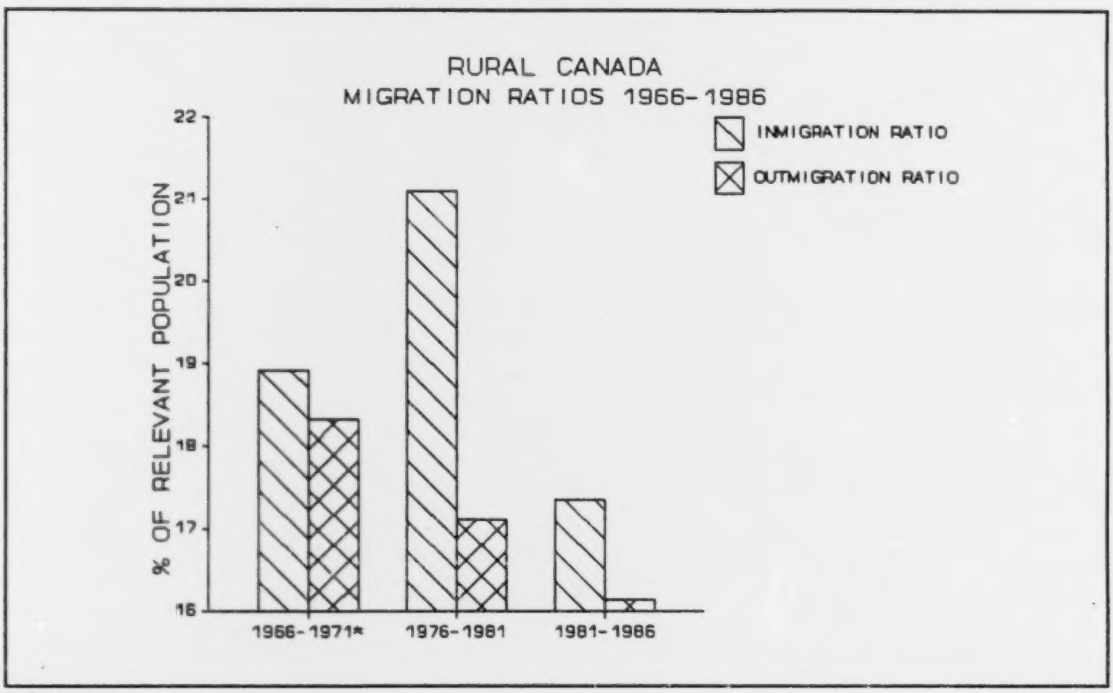

Figure 16

Field (1988) using disaggregated data derived from the 1976 Census found that only rural areas and medium sized urban areas (30,000 < population < 100,000) had gained population as a result of internal migration. Moreover, the rural sector had the largest net transfer of population of any urban category during the 1971-1976 period. This exchange of population from urban to rural areas was more a result of lower outmigration rates than a rural/urban differential ability in attracting newcomers. Outmigration rates were inversely related to urban size with the highest rates found in unincorporated settlements with populations less than 1,000. Population transfers to rural areas were widespread across regions (only Quebec had rural population losses from migration) and across urban size categories.

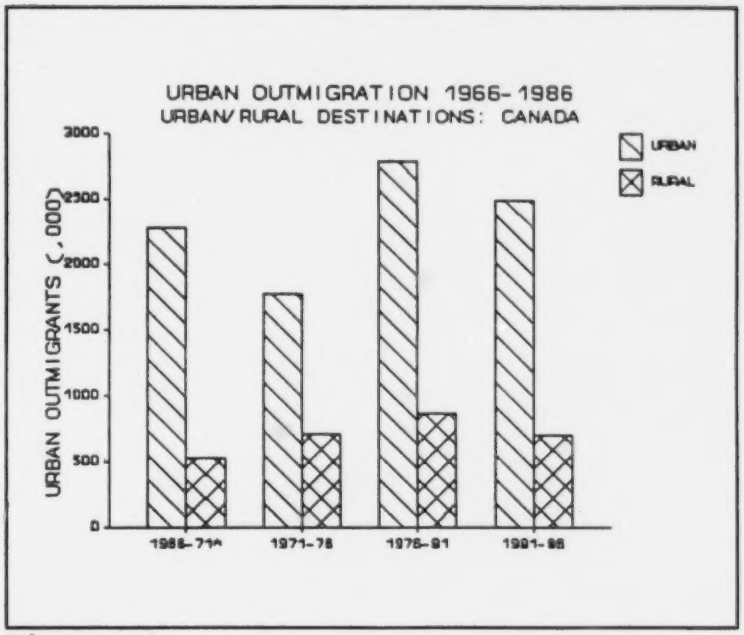

Figure 17

This phenomenon of rural areas experiencing population growth as a result of migration from urban centres continued during the next ten years. The net transfer of population to rural areas from internal migration reached its peak of 256,000 in 1976-1981 and declined

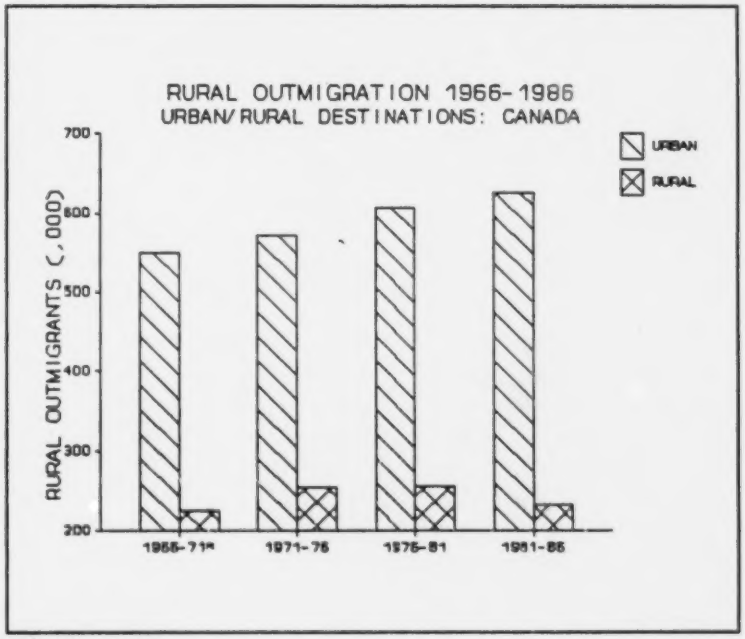

Figure 18

to 77,000 in the last intercensal period (Table 2). This decline is attributable to a lower level of migration into rural regions rather than an increasing level of migration out of rural areas.

This net positive transfer to rural areas occurred despite urban centres being the more popular destination among both rural and urban outmigrants (Figures 17 and 18).[6] As shown in Figure 19, the preference for urban regions is even more pronounced when migration from outside Canada is considered. Migration from outside Canada into urban areas is more than ten times the number who migrate into Rural Canada. (The same ratio for internal migrants is approximately 3 to 1.)

2.3 Population Dependency Ratio

NATIONAL TRENDS

The population dependency ratio is defined here as the sum of the population under 15 and over 64 years of age divided by the remainder of the population. It is an estimate of the population not eligible for labour market participation relative to the population that is. Hence "dependency" is defined in terms of belonging to an age category in which active involvement in the labour market is subject to social and/or legal restrictions.

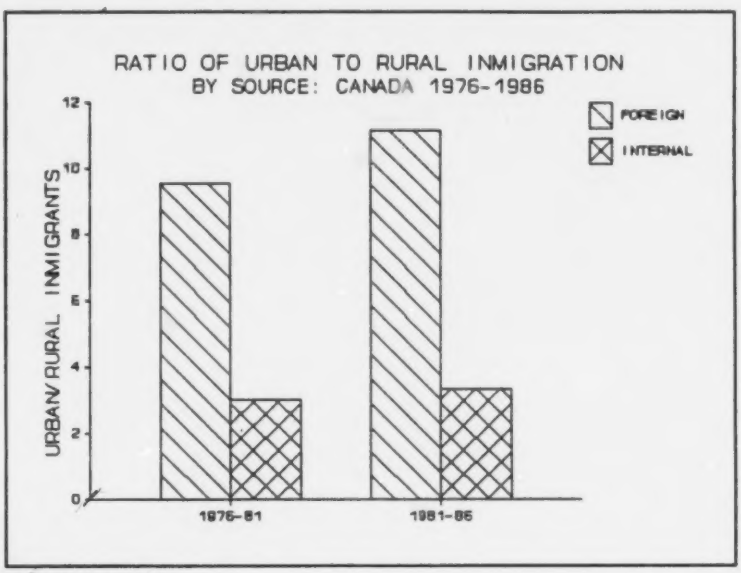

Figure 19

From 1921 to 1986 this ratio followed a similar pattern in urban and rural Canada (Figure 20).

---

[6] A higher proportion of both urban and rural migrants prefer urban destinations. However, in absolute terms the small proportion of urbanites who prefer rural destinations is greater than the larger proportion of rural residents who prefer urban destinations. Hence, internal migration has a positive impact on the population of Rural Canada.

TABLE 2

URBAN - RURAL MIGRATION
CANADA 1966-1986

(DATA IN THOUSANDS OF MIGRANTS)

		1971 PLACE OF RESIDENCE URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL OUTMIGRATION
1966 PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	URBAN*	2281	524	2805
	RURAL	550	226	776
	TOTAL INMIGRATION	2831	750	3582
	NET URBAN-RURAL	26	-26	

		1976 PLACE OF RESIDENCE URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL OUTMIGRATION
1971 PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	URBAN*	1771	707	2478
	RURAL	571	255	826
	TOTAL INMIGRATION	2342	962	3304
	NET URBAN-RURAL	-136	136	

		1981 PLACE OF RESIDENCE URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL OUTMIGRATION
1976 PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	URBAN*	2786	863	3649
	RURAL	607	256	863
	TOTAL INMIGRATION	3393	1119	4512
	NET URBAN-RURAL	-256	256	

		1986 PLACE OF RESIDENCE URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL OUTMIGRATION
1981 PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	URBAN*	2488	702	3190
	RURAL	625	232	857
	TOTAL INMIGRATION	3113	935	4048
	NET URBAN-RURAL	-77	77	

The post war 'baby boom' is clearly reflected in the trend of an increasing ratio up to 1961 while thereafter it declined as this generation became of working age. Throughout this period, rural dependency ratios were above those of the urban population. Within the rural classification, non-farm ratios generally exceeded farm dependency ratios.

Recently the decline in the dependency ratio has slowed for both the rural and urban population. During the last intercensal period there was an increase in the numbers of rural non-farm and urban residents older than 64. In contrast, the rural farm population in this age category declined. However, the rural farm dependency ratio did not decrease significantly since its working-age population also decreased - the only classification in which this occurred. All residence categories exhibited a decline in their populations under 15 years of age.

The large decrease in the rural farm population under 15 is indicative of a movement of young families out of farming. For the population as a whole, it is expected that the decline in the under 15 population will offset the increases in the over 65 population until the second decade of the next century when the first component of the 'baby boom' generation becomes "dependent" again [Fellegi, 1988].

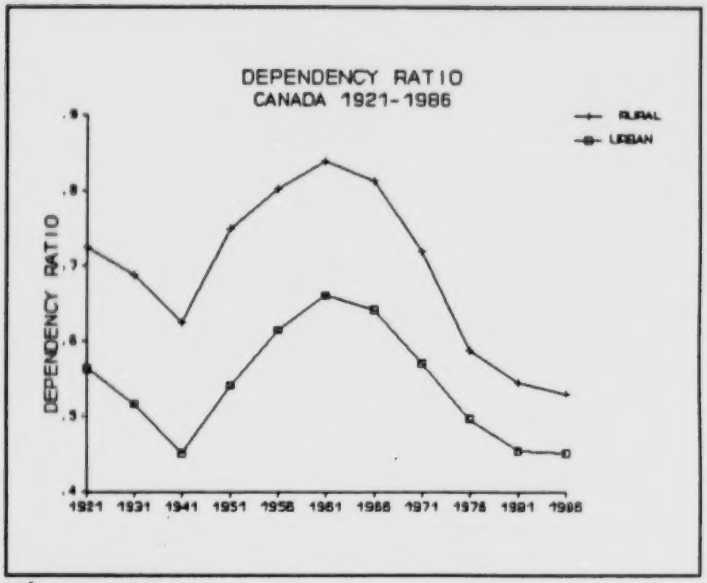

Figure 20

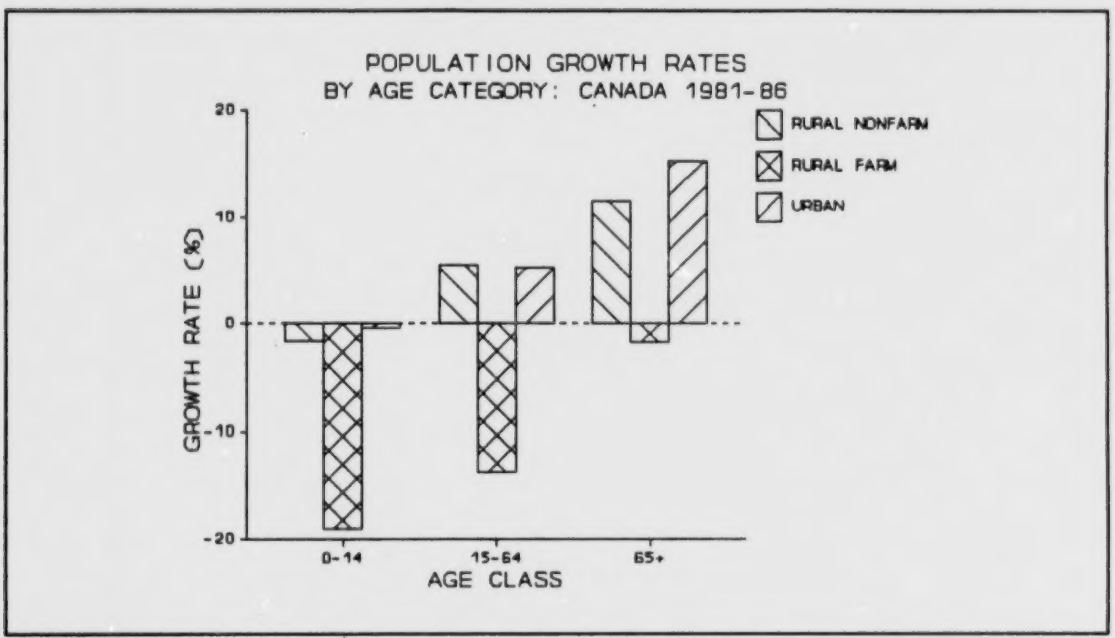

Figure 21

However, the dependency ratio for the rural farm population may not be as stable if the decline in its working-age population continues.

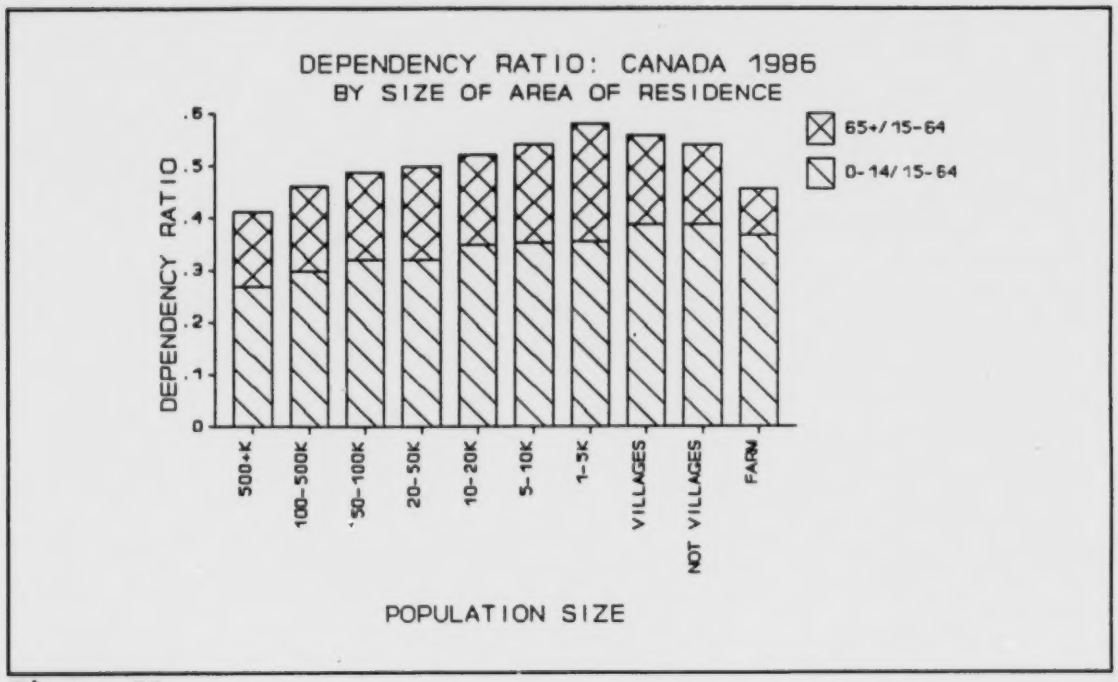

Figure 22

A further breakdown of the 1986 data by urban size shows that the dependency ratio is highest for small urban centres and rural settlements. The dependency ratio for farm populations was lower than all urban size classes except for those with populations in excess of 500,000. Across all urban size classes, the population under 15 years old was the largest component of the "dependent" population (Figure 22). Youth dependency was most pronounced among rural farm and non-farm residents.

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

From 1951 to 1986 there exists a strong relationship between dependency ratios and the population size of area of residence. Dependency ratios in larger urban centres have consistently been lower than those present in rural and smaller urban populations. Throughout this thirty-six year period, urban centres with populations less than 10,000 and rural areas have had the highest dependency ratios. Recently, the Western provinces, Ontario and P.E.I. have experienced higher dependency ratios amongst their small urban populations than in their rural population.

The pattern, which existed nationally, of dependency ratios increasing during the 1950s, reaching their peak in the 1960s and declining thereafter is evident with few exceptions in all provinces and in all urban size categories.

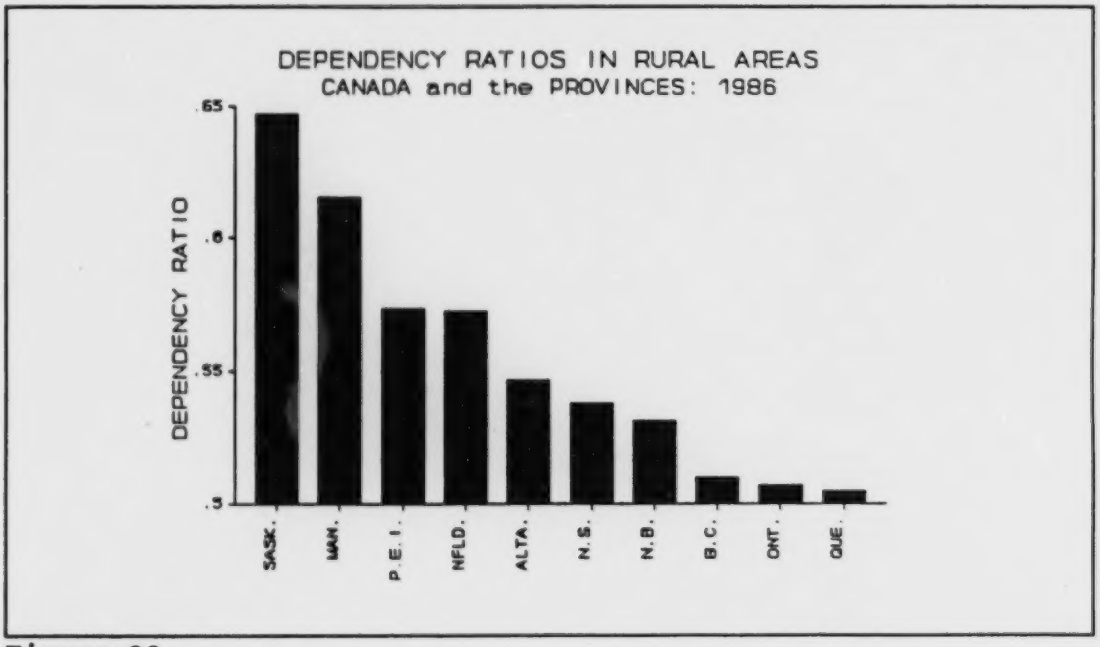

Figure 23

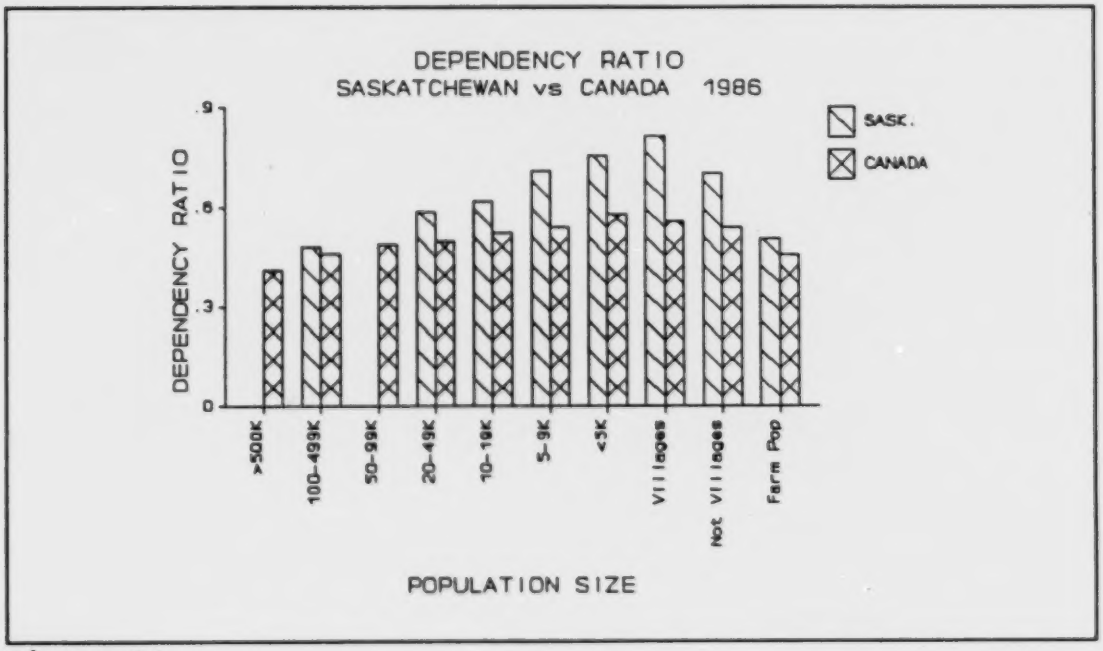

Figure 24

In 1986, the prairie provinces are among those with the highest dependency ratios in rural areas (Figure 23). This is somewhat surprising given the large farm component of rural population that is present on the prairies. This apparent anomaly is partially explained by the higher than average dependency ratios in their rural community as well as rural farm populations (Figure 24).

2.4 Single Industry Town Demographics

Single industry towns (SITs) are rural and urban communities whose labour force is concentrated either in a single industry (30% of its labour force), firm (25%) or industrial sector (30%).[7] As a result of data constraints, only towns which specialize in forestry and wood products, refining and mining, and fishing were identified. Hence this data set will exclude towns which service the agricultural sector.

In 1986, there were 208 single industry towns in Canada (Table 3). Over 70% had populations between 1,000 and 5,000 while less than 5% had populations in excess of 10,000. The average population of a SIT was 3200.

Over the 1976-1986 period, the total population of SITs has decreased both in absolute terms and relative to the national population. The SIT population has declined 7% since 1976 and now comprises less than 3% of Canada's population. There was a similar decrease in the number of towns during the same period.

In 1986, close to 55% of the SIT population was found in towns specializing in forestry and wood products while refining/mining and fishing towns accounted for 35% and 10% respectively. Refining/mining towns had the largest average population (4400) while the average population of fishing towns was the smallest (1500). This is, in part, a consequence of the geographically dispersed nature of the fishing industry compared to industries like mining, refining, and wood processing that both require considerable investments in capital and labour and exploit resources which are more locationally fixed.

---

[7] For towns over 10,000, only 25% of the labour force is required to be employed in a single industry (sector). This accounts for the increased level of services that is required for any larger community.

TABLE 3

POPULATION SUMMARY OF SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWNS

TABLE 3.1

SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWNS
CANADA 1976-1986

	POPULATION SIZE					
YEAR	0-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-5000	5001-10000	10001+
1976	4	26	90	68	21	15
1981	5	22	71	74	24	11
1986	8	24	70	70	25	11

TABLE 3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF SIT POPULATION BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
CANADA 1976-1986

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF SIT TOWN	POPULATION 1976	1981	1986
REFINING/MINING	255651	254087	233887
FORESTRY/WOOD PRODUCTS	381851	370631	316981
FISHING	74210	68591	68953

TABLE 3.3

SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWNS IN CANADA: 1976-1986

YEAR	SIT POPULATION TOTAL	AVERAGE	% OF CANADA	NUMBER OF TOWNS
1976	711712	3177	3.1	224
1981	693309	3333	2.8	208
1986	664821	3196	2.6	208

Over the past two intercensal periods, the population of refining/mining towns have shown the most volatility. During the oil boom of the late 1970s, the collective population of these towns increased by almost 10%. There was an 8% decrease in its population during the subsequent period (1981-1986) of declining oil and mineral prices. From 1981 to 1986 there was a smaller population decline in forestry and wood products SITs while fishing towns had a marginal increase in population. The relative stability of the fishing SIT population during this period could be partially attributed to the relative immunity of the demand for food products to cyclical fluctuations of the economy.

3. LABOUR MARKET CHARACTERISTICS

Much of the data presented here pertaining to the comparative labour force characteristics of Rural Canada are obtained from the Labour Force Survey (LFS). At one level of the stratification process, the Survey classifies areas into self-representing units (SRU) and non-self-representing units (NSRU). While the guidelines vary from province to province, the SRUs are generally urban areas with populations in excess of 10,000. Consequently, NSRUs constitute rural areas and small urban centres. For Canada, over 60% of the NSRU population are rural residents with the NSRUs in the Atlantic region being the most representative of rural areas (80%). While the SRU/NSRU categorization does not correspond exactly to the urban/rural distinction, NSRU data is suited to provide insights into the labour market of Rural and Small Town Canada. This together with the availability of yearly estimates are the advantages of using LFS data. It is hoped that these advantages outweigh the inherent greater variability of survey as opposed to census data and the problems of comparability of data over time posed by the revisions of the LFS during the period studied.[8]

3.1 Rural/Urban Male/Female Trends in Employment

NATIONAL TRENDS

Employment growth statistics do provide some information regarding the ability of the economy to create jobs. However, the two concepts of job creation and employment growth are not identical. Job creation deals exclusively with labour demand. Employment growth measures changes in the number of persons who have accepted employment at the existing wage levels. This differs from the number of jobs created by i) disregarding job gains or losses among multiple job holders and ii) including job gains or losses that are a result of an increased supply of labour.

---

[8] The Labour Force Survey experienced some changes to its sample design in 1985. This redesign included refinements in estimation and sampling methods that had a differential impact on SRUs and NSRUs. Moreover, during the 1976-1989 period post-censal adjustments to the weights used in the population estimates occurred as well as changes in other criteria. This has led to some reclassification of NSRUs as SRUs which makes the analysis of trends (especially trends in levels which are directly changed by such changes) problematic. This paper tries to minimize the effects of these changes by examining trends in variables that are relative to their populations (e.g., labour force participation rates).

For example, an influx of immigrants from less developed nations may exploit job opportunities that previously existed but were refused by the domestic labour force.

For most of the 1976-1983 period, "rural" employment growth was more rapid than "urban"[9] (Figure 25). However in the 1985-1989 period, the 12% employment growth experienced in "urban" areas was nearly double the "rural" growth rate.

In absolute terms, employment growth is becoming more concentrated in Urban Canada (Figure 26). From 1976-1980, employment in rural areas grew by nearly 400,000 which represented 30% of total employment growth. In the 1985-89 period, this figure fell to 250,000 - 20% of total growth in employment.

Figure 25

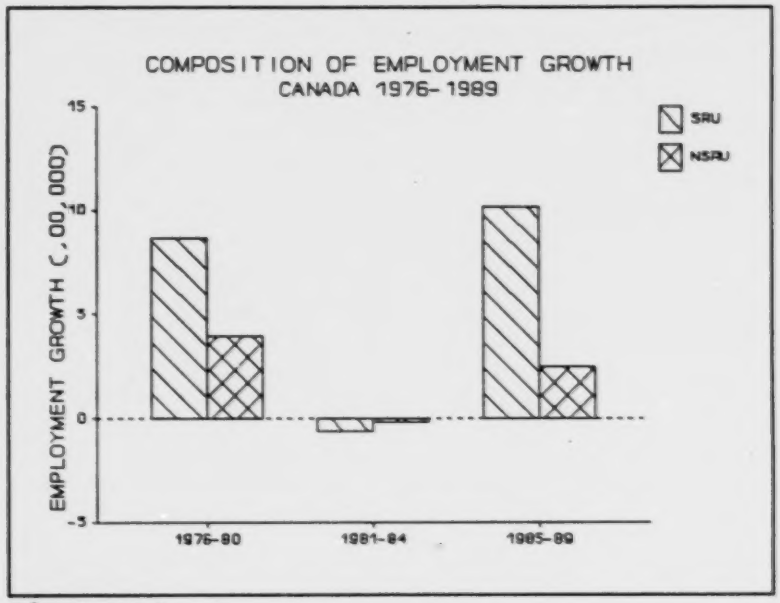

Figure 26

[9] In Figure 23, the growth rate for the period 1984-1985 was deleted because of the change in the LFS survey design. Also, "rural" will hereafter denote NSRU data while "urban" represents SRU data.

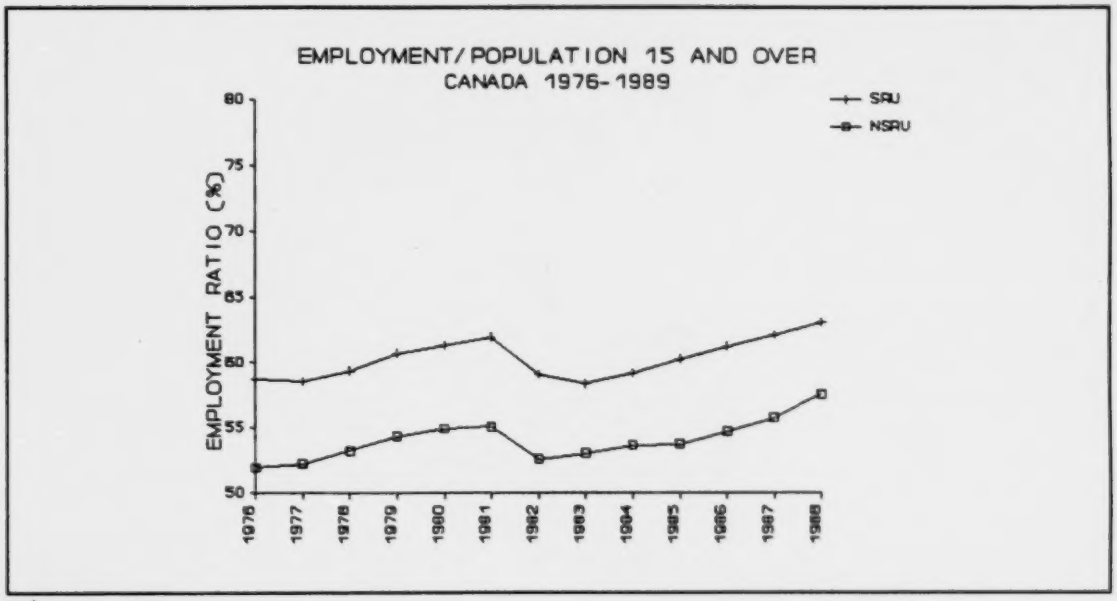

Figure 27

The employment ratio is the ratio of employment to the total population over 14 years old. A trend analysis of this statistic will partially control for changes in employment that result from a segment of the population reaching the age of labour force eligibility.

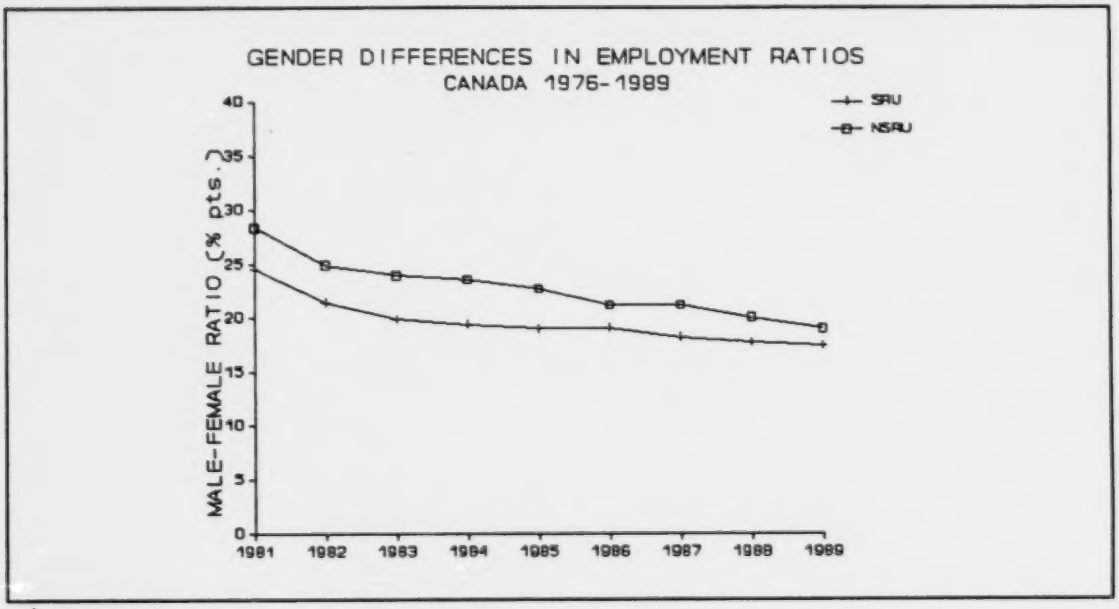

Figure 28

There exists little difference between "rural"/"urban" categories in terms of the trends in employment ratios. In both classifications, employment ratios fell during the recession and subsequently recovered to surpass their pre-recession levels (Figure 27). As well, the reduction in the difference between male and female employment ratios was similar across the SRU/NSRU classification. Despite these relative gains in female employment, in 1989 the female employment ratio was approximately 55% in "urban" areas and 48% in "rural" areas while the corresponding male ratios were 72% and 67%.

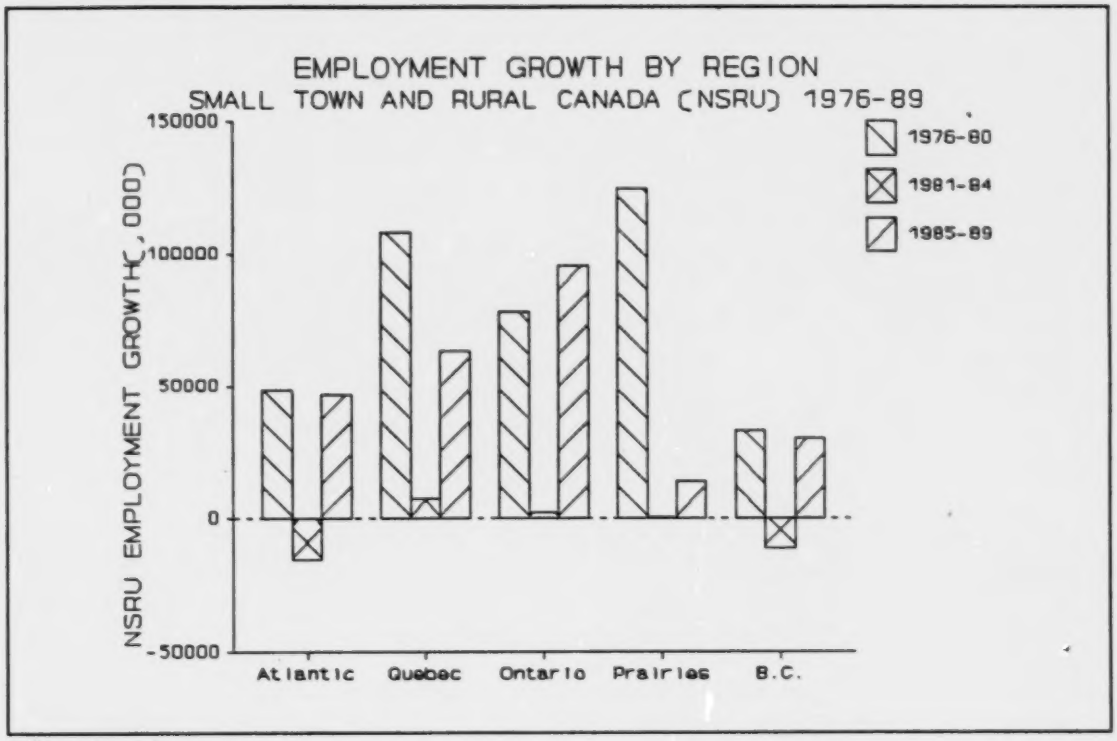

Figure 29

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

The national pattern of greater "urban" to "rural" employment ratios was evident in every province. Not surprisingly, employment ratios were lowest in the Maritimes. In 1989, Alberta had the highest "rural" employment ratio while Ontario had the highest "urban" ratio. Above average differences between the SRU and NSRU ratios occurred in the Maritimes (with the exception of P.E.I.) while the smallest difference was in Alberta. This reflects the relative capacity of the regions' resource bases (primarily located in rural areas) in providing local employment opportunities.

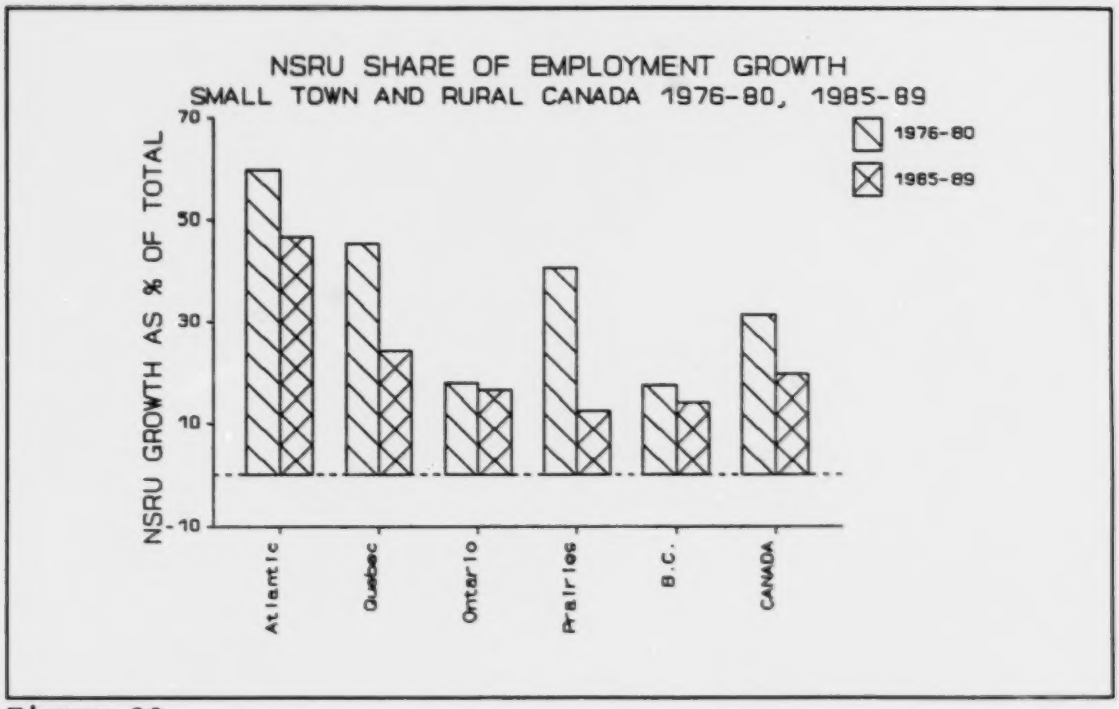

Figure 30

In terms of trends in the employment ratios, the national pattern of relatively constant NSRU ratios and declining then increasing SRU ratios was, in the main, replicated provincially.

During the early 1980s, B.C. and Alberta had the greatest relative decreases in both SRU and NSRU employment. New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan had employment gains in "urban" areas but employment losses in rural regions. In the 1985-1989 period, growth in SRU and NSRU employment was evident in every province. "Rural" growth was strongest in B.C. and New Brunswick. Above average growth in "rural" employment also occurred in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Quebec. However, during the same period, employment growth (in absolute terms) in Rural and Small Town Canada has been located primarily in Central Canada (Figure 29).

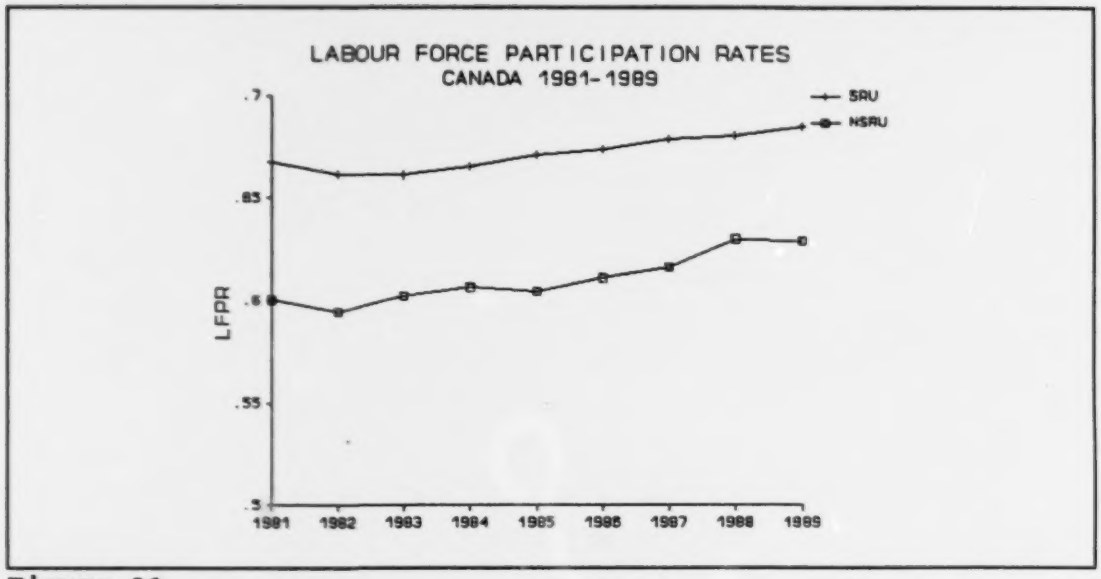

Figure 31

NATIONAL TRENDS

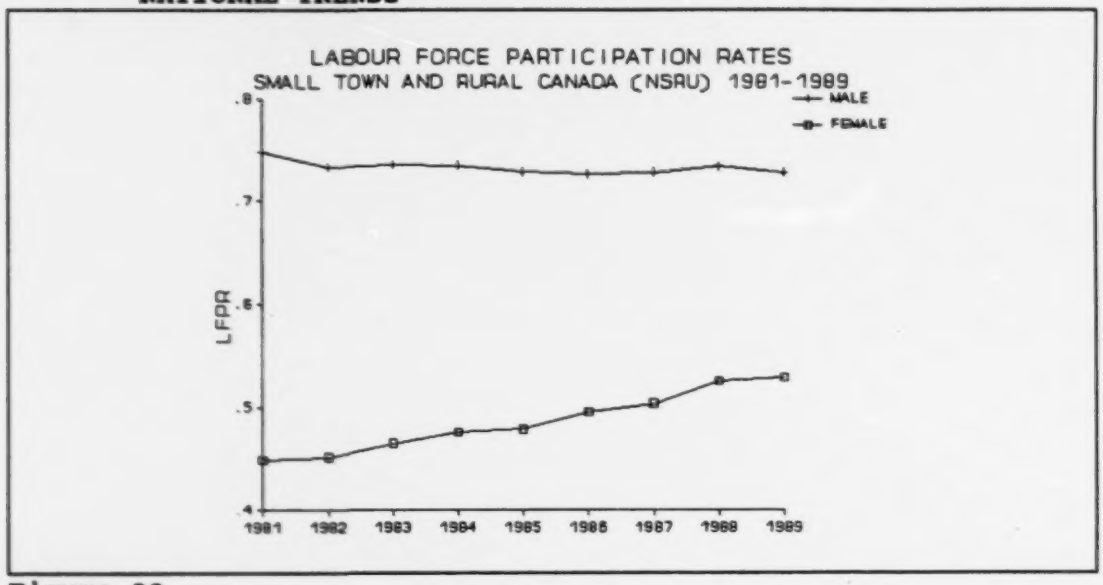

Figure 32

3.2 Rural/Urban Male/Female Trends in Differences in Labour Force Participation Rates (LFPR)

Throughout the 1980s the labour force participation rate (the labour force expressed as a percentage of the population over 14 years of age) of SRU areas was greater than those in NSRU areas.

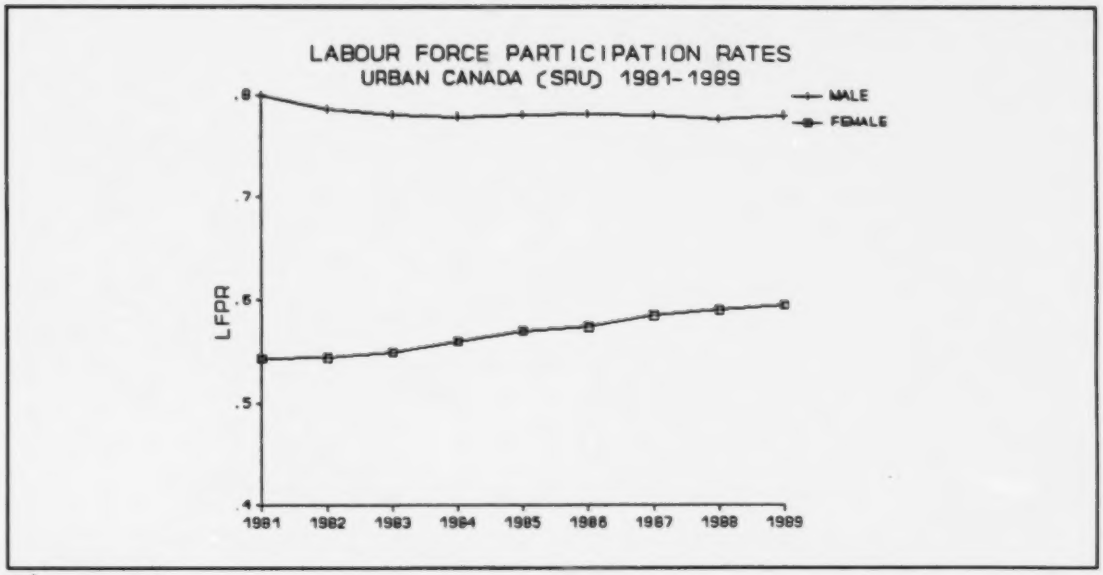

Figure 33

This pattern of "urban" rates exceeding "rural" rates was true across gender classification. "Rural" LFPR were generally 5 (8) percentage points below "urban" for males (females). Male participation rates showed little variation during the period. Female rates showed an upward trend with "rural" participation increasing at a slightly greater rate than "urban" (Figures 31, 32, and 33).

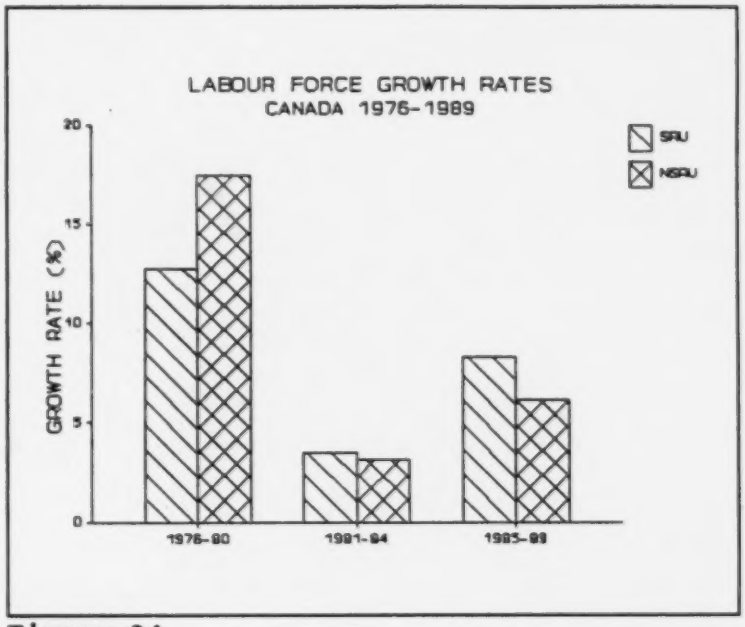

Figure 34

Labour force participation rates appeared to be largely unaffected by the pronounced cyclical fluctuations in economic activity that occurred during the 1976-1989 period. The labour force increased in absolute terms during the early 1980s, albeit at a reduced rate than before the recession (Figure 34).

The high rate of "rural" labour force growth from 1976 to 1980 could be partially attributed to the large net migration from urban to rural areas that occurred during the period. In the subsequent period, SRU labour force growth rates exceeded NSRU rates by two percentage points.

Disaggregating 1986 Census data by urban size indicates that farm population had the highest LFPR for both males and females. To some extent, this is a result of the farm population being the only residential category which is defined in terms of participation in a particular occupation. The lowest participation rates were found in rural settlements and small urban centres (Figure 35).

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

Provincial data reveals few differences from national LFPR trends. In Prince Edward Island, participation rates across

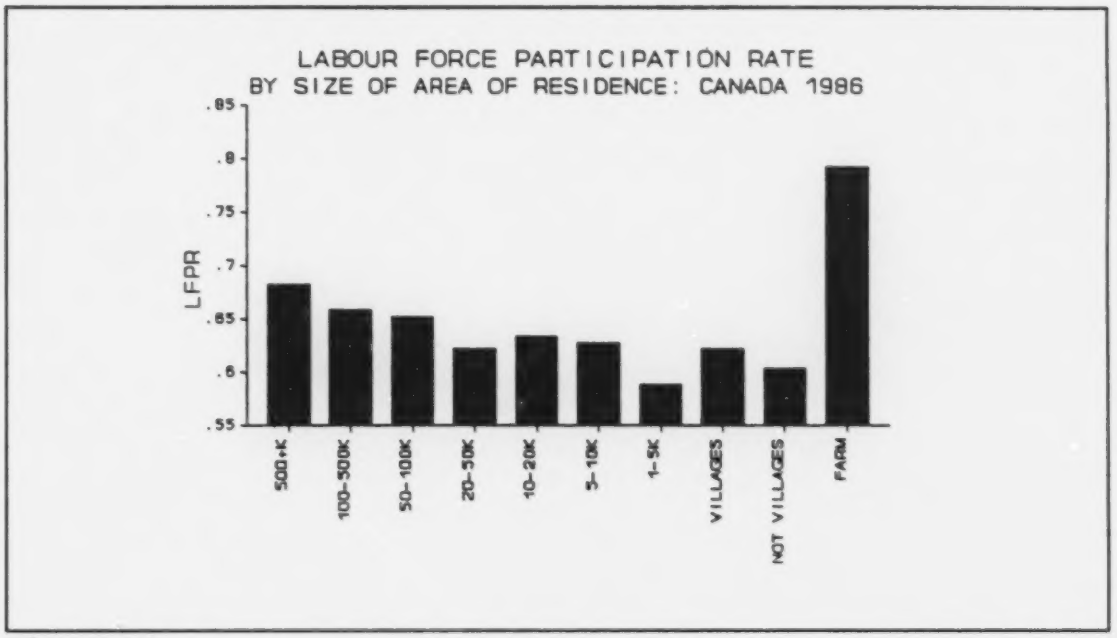

Figure 35

SRU/NSRU classification were roughly equal while elsewhere trends followed the national pattern with "urban" rates exceeding "rural" rates by a significant but decreasing margin. The lowest "rural" LFPR was in Newfoundland while Alberta had the highest participation rates across both gender and residence categories.

3.3 Rural/Urban Male/Female Trends in Unemployment Rates

NATIONAL TRENDS

During the past decade unemployment rates have fluctuated between 7 and 12 percent. As shown in Figure 36, "rural" rates were consistently above "urban" early in the decade. Beginning in 1984, there was a tendency for the SRU and NSRU rates to diverge reflecting both the regional specificity of the economic expansion and the continuation of the relative decline in employment in primary industries (see section 3.4).

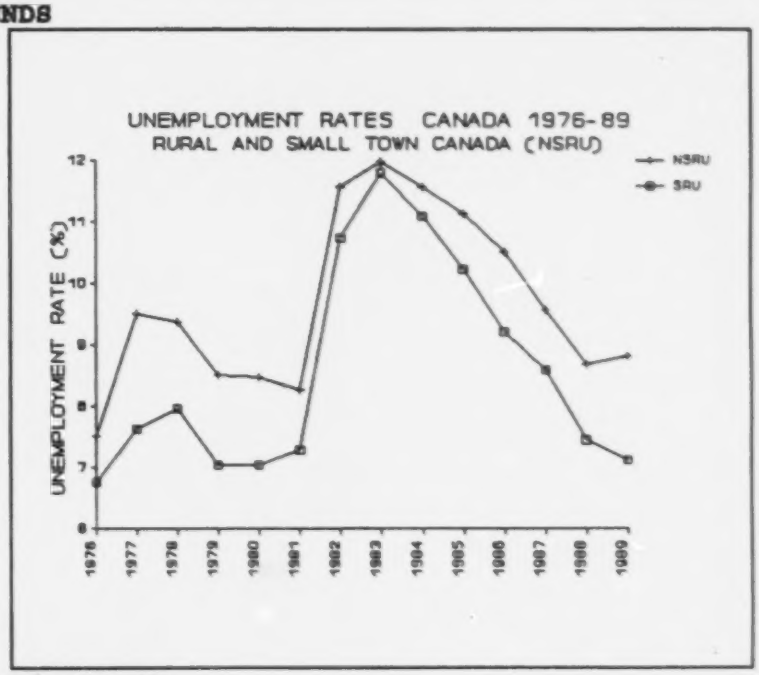

Figure 36

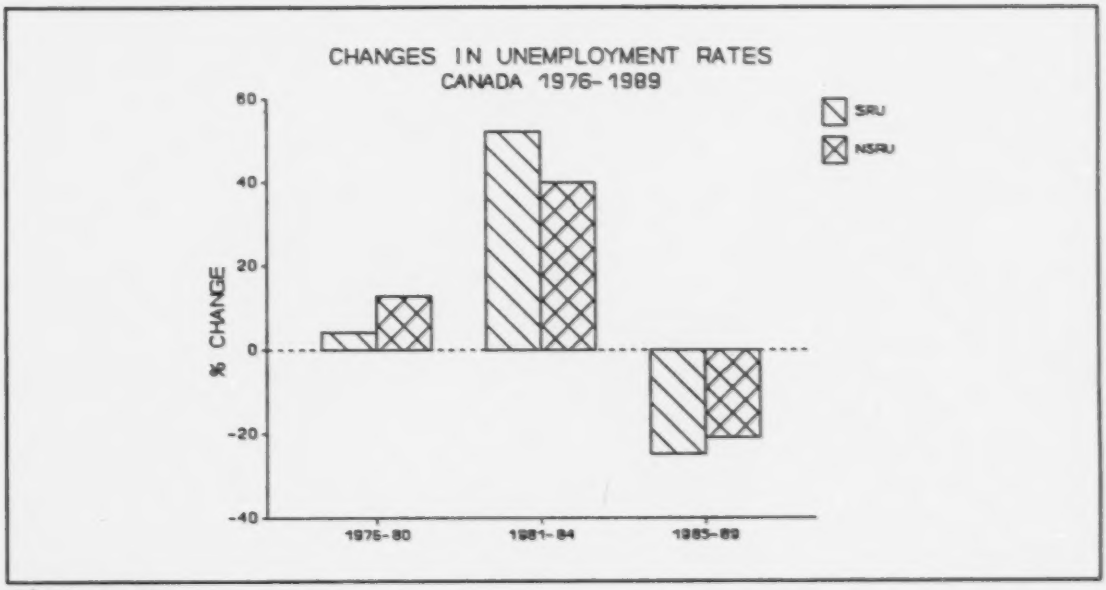

Figure 37

"Urban" unemployment rates increased relative to "rural" rates during the recessionary period of the early 1980s. In 1983 the unemployment rate differential across SRU/NSRU categories was virtually nonexistent. Possible explanations for the recent divergence in rates could include:

- the concentrated effect on remote hinterlands of the decline in raw material prices.
- the weak world market for grain and other agricultural products.
- the boom in urban-concentrated activity such as finance and certain types of manufacturing.
- the real income gain for the manufacturing heartland of Canada resulting from lower commodity prices.
- social, educational, informational and policy obstacles to mobility between rural and urban regions that inhibits the movement of the unemployed to areas that have better job prospects.

During the recession, female unemployment declined relative to male employment for both SRU/NSRU areas (Figure 38). Given that primary industries are more sensitive to the fluctuations of the business cycle and possess more male-dominated occupations than other industrial sectors, this convergence of unemployment rates is not surprising. Since 1985, the historical trend of female unemployment rates being higher than male rates has continued in both residential classifications. The difference in rates (female minus male) has been consistently higher in "rural" areas.

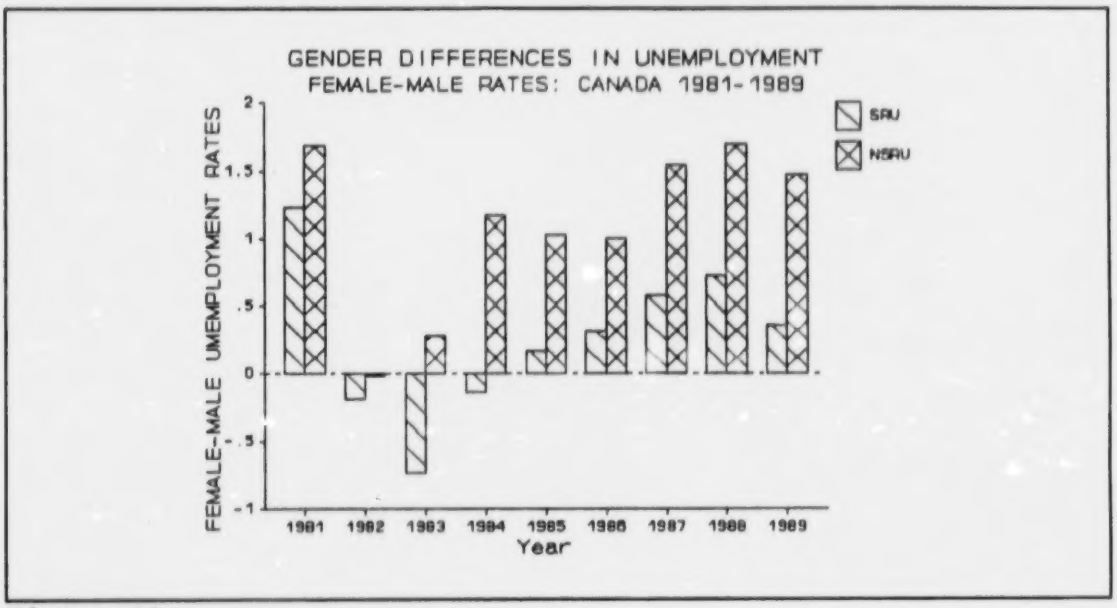

Figure 38

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

The three prairie provinces were the only provinces to have lower "rural" than "urban" unemployment rates throughout the decade. One reason for this is that a relatively large proportion of their rural population resides on farms. The farm population generally has lower unemployment rates since the decision to leave farming is usually accompanied with a change of residence. As well, given that unemployment insurance regulations classify farmers as self-employed, the farm population would have a smaller proportion of its workforce eligible for unemployment benefits. Consequently, there exists a greater propensity within this population to undertake a job search immediately after becoming unemployed.

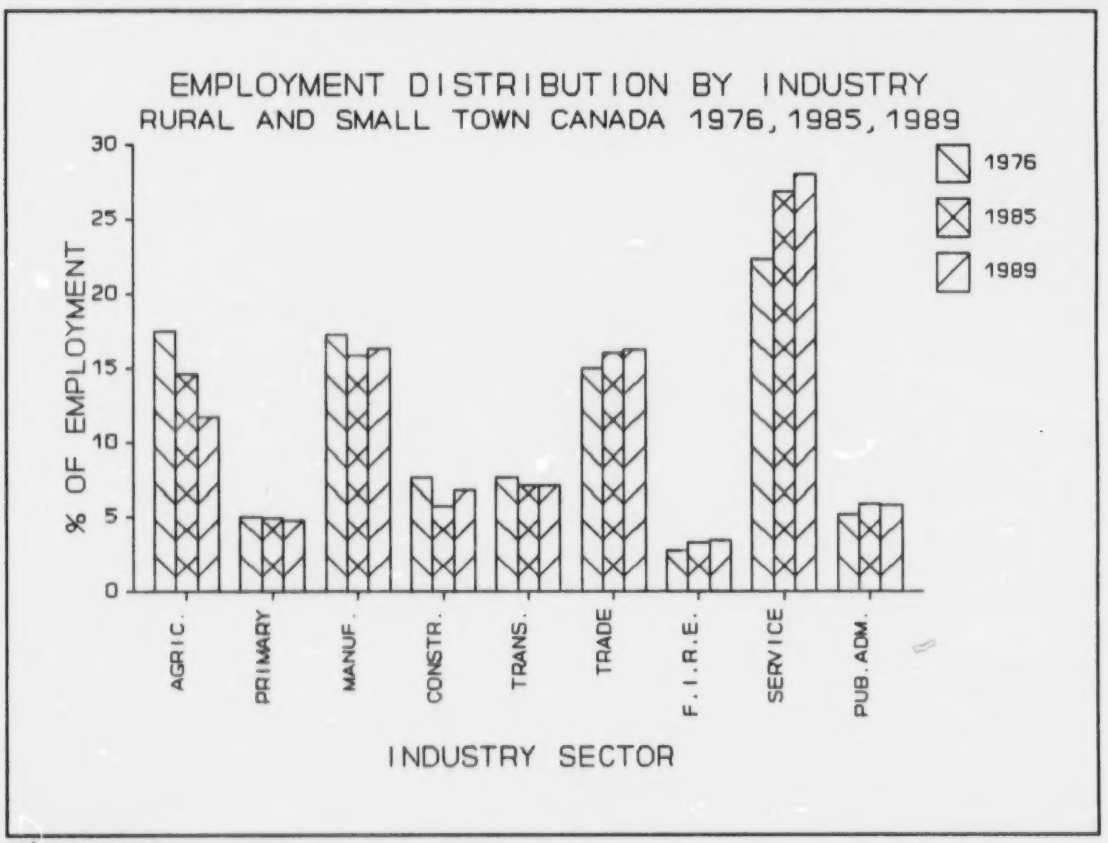

Figure 39

The post-recession divergence between "rural" and "urban" unemployment rates that occurred nationally reflects the relative decline in SRU rates that took place in many of the provinces.

3.4 Rural/Urban Male/Female Trends in Employment by Industry

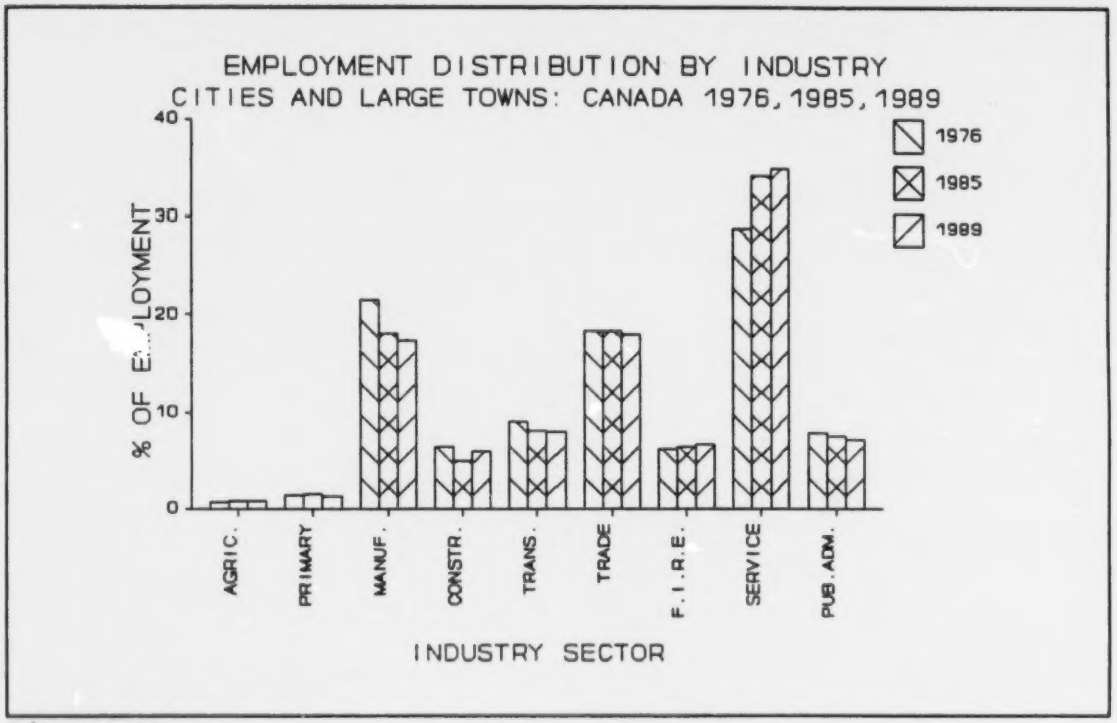

Figure 40

In Rural and Small Town Canada, the distribution of employment by industry has changed noticeably since 1976 (Figures 39 and 40). In NSRU areas, the agricultural component of employment has declined (17% to 12%). This relative decline is illustrated by the fact that the agricultural workforce in Rural and Small Town Canada is presently smaller than the manufacturing workforce. Employment in the broadly defined service sector (which encompasses the health/medical sector, educational services, real estate, hospitality industry, and various personal and business services) showed the greatest relative increase (22% to 28% of total NSRU employment).[10] A similar increase in the relative numbers employed in the service sector occurred in SRU areas (from 29% in 1976 to 35% in 1989). However, this increase is partially attributable to the recent trend of firms in non-service industries contracting out for various business and consulting services rather than obtaining these services from within the firm [Personick, 1987]. Hence, this component of the increase does not signal any fundamental change in the industrial structure.

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[10] The aggregated data used here is not helpful in determining the distribution of the quality of service jobs (e.g., high wages, advancement opportunities) across urban size classes.

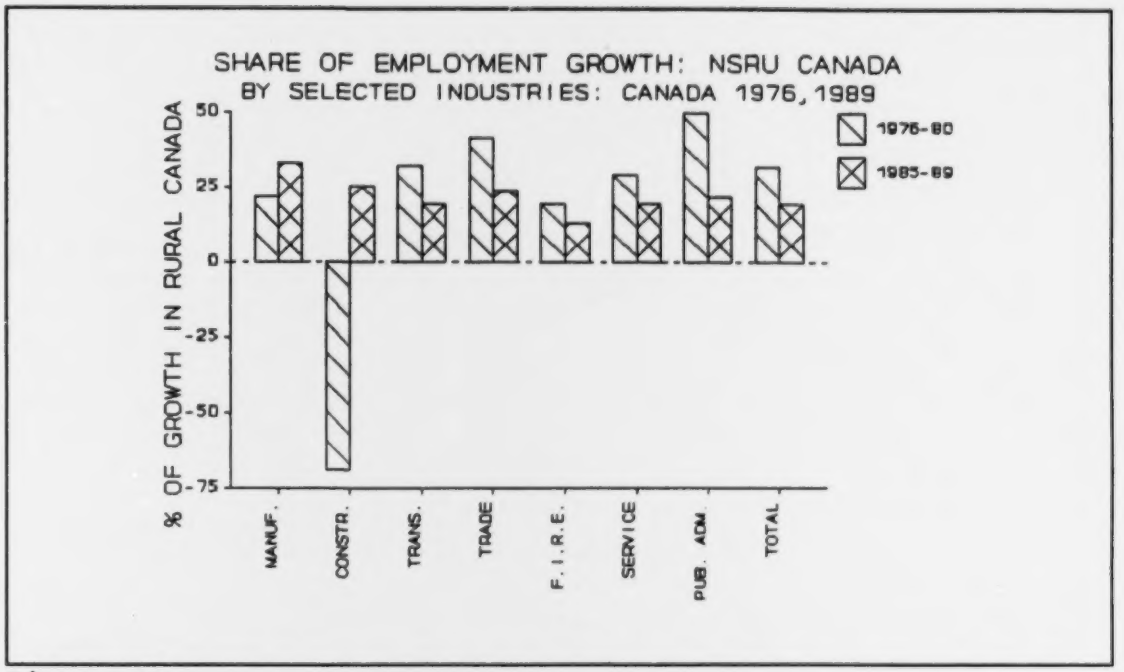

Figure 41

Regardless, the service sector is the largest employer in both "rural" and "urban" areas.

In "rural" areas, relative growth in manufacturing employment occurred in the 1985-1989 period. While this data set does not distinguish the location of this growth within Rural and Small Town Canada, it would appear likely that some of it occurred in areas adjacent to large urban centres. This decentralization of urban-based manufacturing, resulting from firms being attracted to lower land costs in rural areas, has been cited as a major factor of recent manufacturing growth in the rural U.S. (e.g., Deavers 1989). SRU employment in manufacturing also increased during this period but declined relative to employment in other sectors.

From 1985 to 1989, employment growth in Rural and Small Town Canada took place in all industrial sectors except agriculture. Below average growth also occurred in the other primary industries, transportation and public administration (Figure 42). The highest rate of growth was in construction employment (30%).

As mentioned earlier, the "rural" share of employment growth has declined since the late 1970s. To some extent, this is attributable to the reduction in agricultural employment in rural areas. Declining rural shares in employment growth were also concentrated in service-producing industries (i.e., transportation, trade, services and public administration).

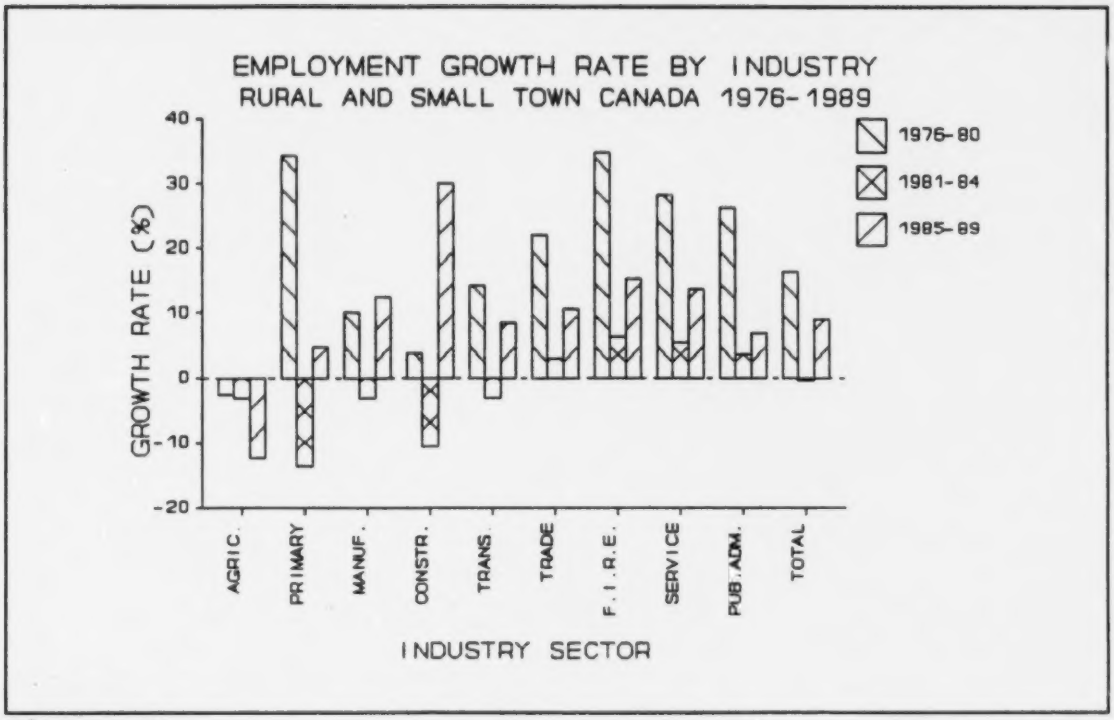

Figure 42

Manufacturing and construction sectors have recently seen an increase in the proportion of their employment growth that occurs in Rural and Small Town Canada (Figure 55).

3.4.1 Location Quotients

The location quotient (LQ) is a commonly used index of regional specialization (e.g., see Coffey, 1987). It is the ratio of the relative employment in an industry at the regional level to the relative employment in the same industry on a national scale.[11] A number greater than 100 is considered to indicate a high degree of concentration in the activity (in terms of employment) by the particular region compared to the whole economy.

---

[11] The LQ for industry i in region j located in national economy n is ((Eij / Ej) / (Ein / En)) * 100 where
Eij = employment for industry i in region j
Ej = total employment in region j
Ein = employment for industry i in national economy n
En = total employment in the national economy n.

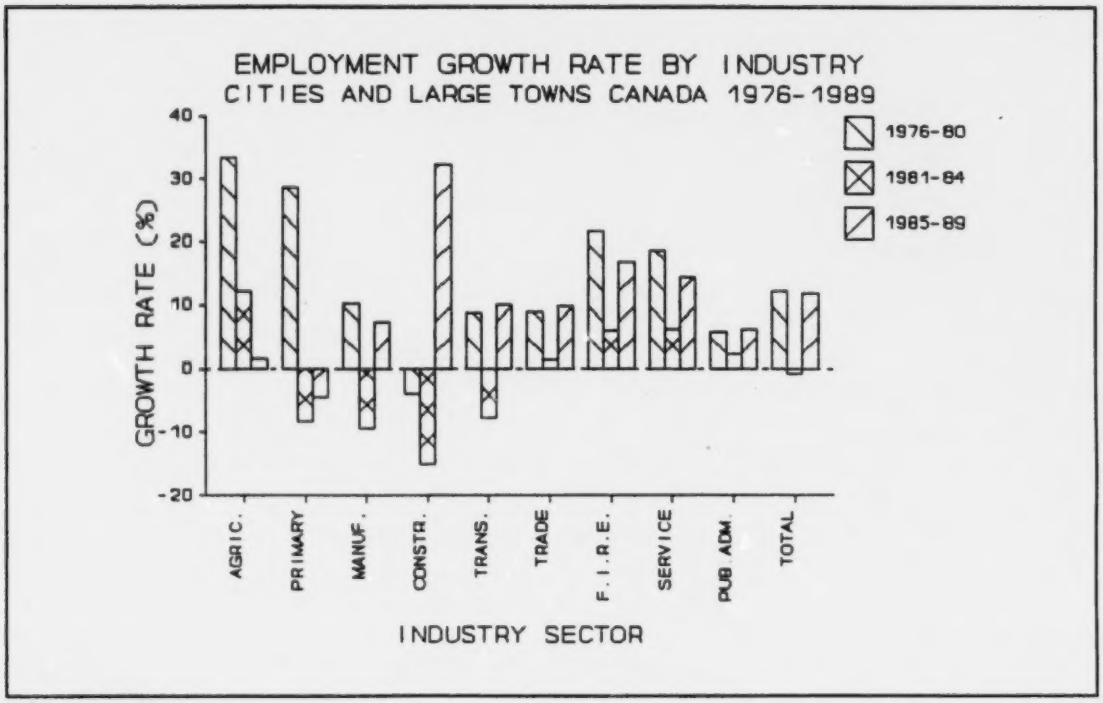

Figure 43

As could be expected, the LQs based on the Labour Force Survey data suggest rural specialization in agriculture and the other primary industries (see Figure 44). The construction industry was also relatively concentrated within "rural" regions. While the rural nature of construction may be surprising to many urban dwellers, this classification does incorporate the building of the infrastructure necessary for natural resource exploitation (e.g., highways, power plants, hydroelectric projects, telecommunication lines). The LQs of the remainder of the industrial classifications indicate "urban" specialization.

Changes in the sectoral LQs (measured by the difference in LQs taken at different years) reflect relative changes in the concentration of employment. Since 1976, agricultural employment has become less concentrated in "rural" areas - a joint result of the declining agricultural workforce in NSRU regions and the increased employment in "urban" agriculture.

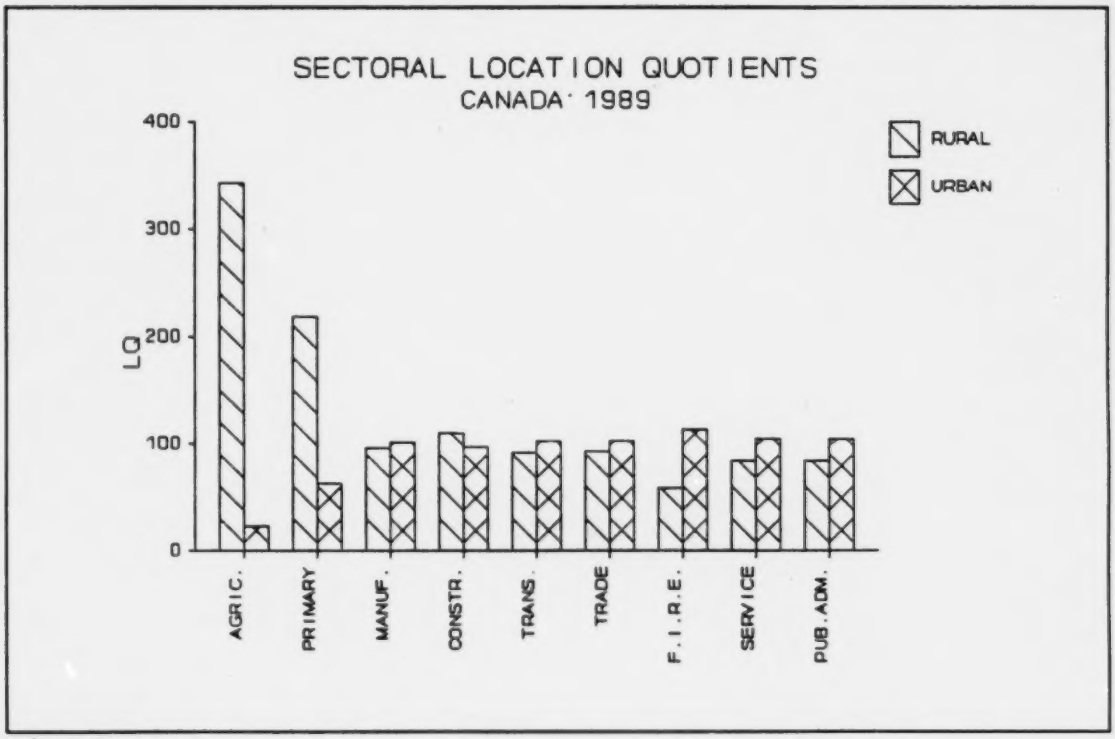

Figure 44

Since 1985, employment in the other industrial sectors have become more concentrated in "rural" areas.[12] The declining "urban" specialization in manufacturing evident in the 1981-1984 and the 1985-1989 periods is a continuation of a trend that existed in the 1970s [Coffey and Polese, 1988]. During the recession of the early 1980s, this increased concentration of manufacturing employment in NSRU areas was brought about in part by greater employment losses in "urban" than in "rural" manufacturing.

3.4.2 Shift-Share analysis

Shift-share analysis decomposes employment growth into three components that measure the differential growth among regions.

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[12] Some sectors in Rural Canada had both a declining share of employment growth and increases in their LQs. Changes in shares of employment growth depend only on employment changes in a single sector while changes in LQs also depend on changes in the proportion of the total employment (i.e., sum of employment in each sector) in the region.

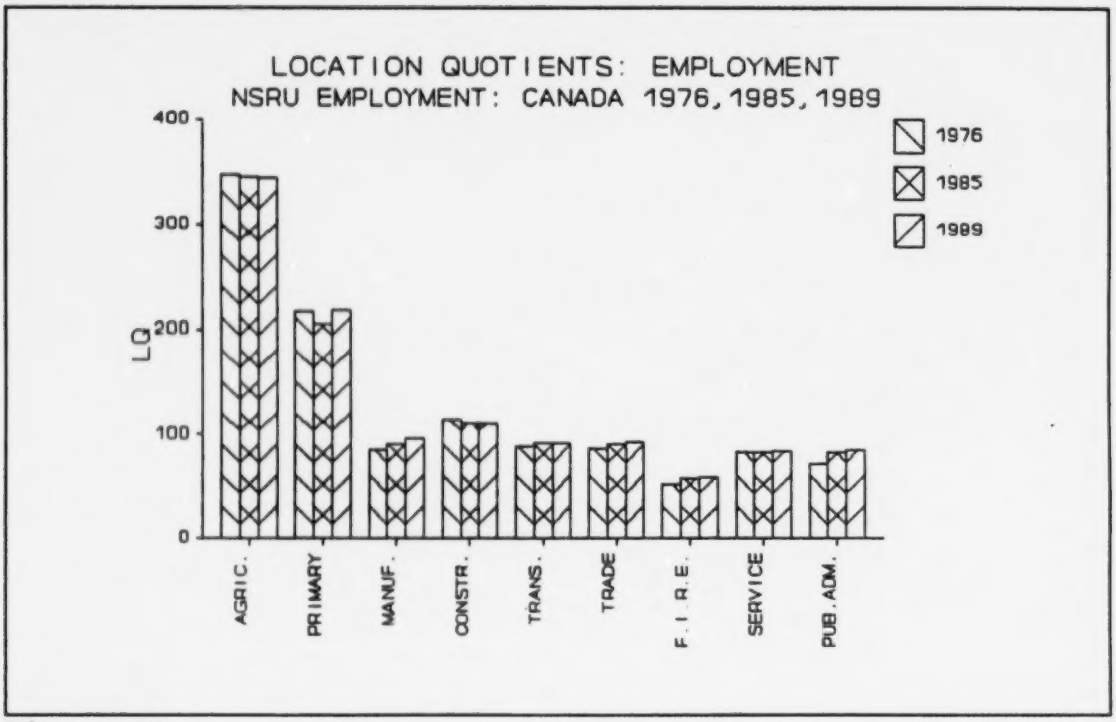

Figure 45

Sectoral employment growth in a particular region can be partitioned into a national growth, structural, and regional shift effect.[13]

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[13] The mathematical formula for shift-share analysis given by Martin, 1976 is:

$$E^0_{ij}(r_{ij}) = E^0_{ij}(r_{..}) + E^0_{ij}(r_{i.}-r_{..}) + E^0_{ij}(r_{ij}-r_{i.})$$

where $E^0_{ij}(r_{ij})$ = absolute change in employment since year 0 in industry i in region j with r_{ij} representing the corresponding growth rate and E^0_{ij} representing the corresponding level of employment at year 0.

$E^0_{ij}(r_{..})$ = employment change in region j if industry i had grown at the overall national rate of employment growth (i.e., national effect). $r_{..}$ represents the growth rate of all industries in Canada during the period under study.

$E^0_{ij}(r_{i.}-r_{..})$ = the change in employment in region j resulting from the differential in national growth rates between industry i ($r_{i.}$) and the overall economy ($r_{..}$) (i.e., structural effect).

$E^0_{ij}(r_{ij}-r_{i.})$ = the employment change in region j resulting

The national growth effect is measured by assuming that employment in each regional industry grew at the same rate as employment on a national scale. The summation of the national effects across industrial sectors in the NSRU is shown in Figure 46. During the 1985-1989 period, employment growth in Rural and Small Town Canada would been greater if its industries had experienced employment gains at the national rate.

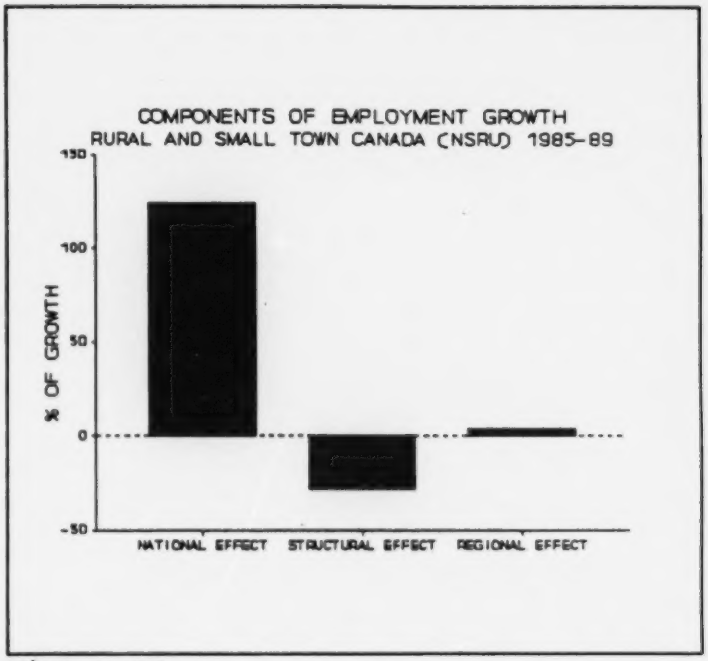

Figure 46

The structural component is measured by multiplying the initial employment in particular industry and region by the difference between the growth rate of that industry on a national scale and the overall employment growth rate. A negative result implies that the particular industry has grown at a slower rate (in terms of employment) than the national average. The aggregation of this component is considered by some (e.g., Coffey and Polese, 1988) to indicate whether the existing distribution of employment in the region is a positive influence on employment growth (i.e., whether employment is concentrated in fast- or slow-growth industries).[14] For the 1985-1989 period, this component is negative for Rural and Small Town Canada suggesting that its industrial mix may have had a retarding effect on its employment growth.

---

from the differential in national and regional growth rates for industry i (i.e., regional effect).

[14] Serious reservations about the usefulness of these aggregated results have been raised by several researchers (e.g., Martin, 1976). In particular, the results vary according to the degree of industrial disaggregation. The contribution of the structural effect relative to the regional effect increases with the level of disaggregation. Given that the level of disaggregation used here was chosen on the basis of simplicity and availability rather than its economic appropriateness, caution should be used in the interpretation of these results.

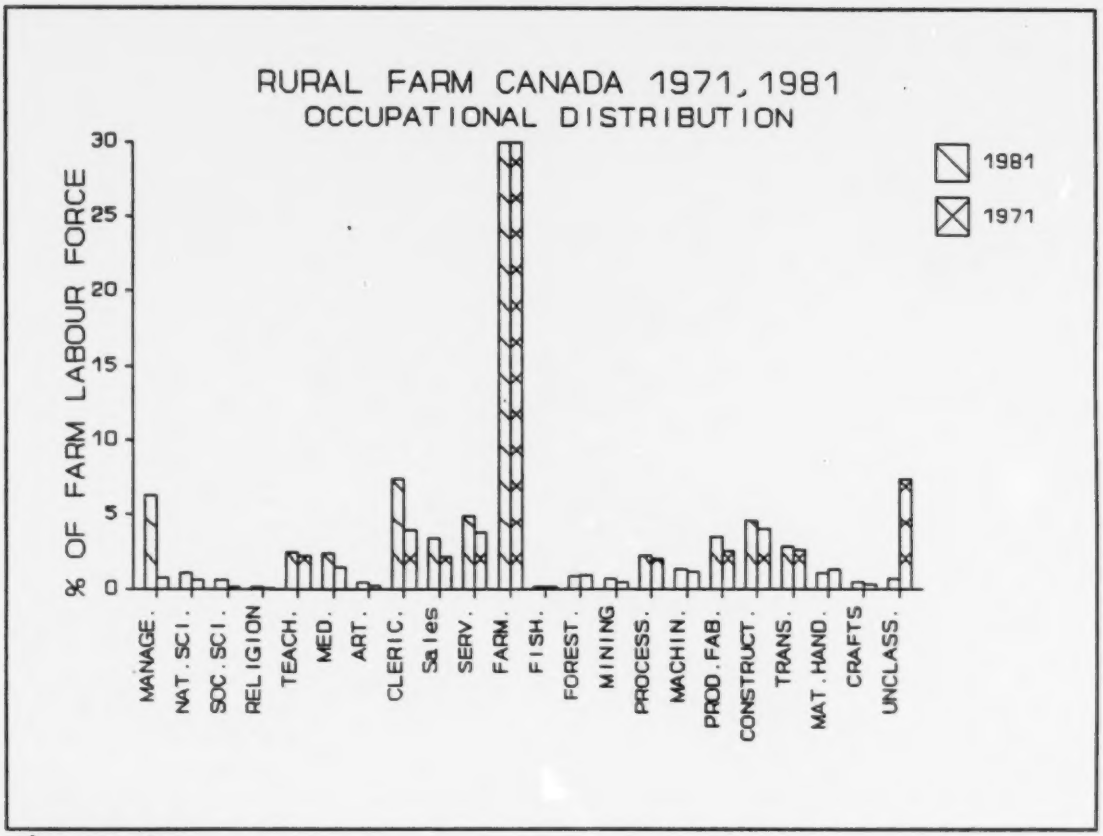

Figure 47

The regional or shift effect is the component of growth associated with the differential between the growth rate of a particular industry in the region and the industry's rate of growth nationally. A positive shift effect is evidence of the superior performance (in terms of employment growth) of the region in that industrial activity. Aggregating this effect across industrial sectors is presumed to give an indication of the impact of local (regional) conditions on employment growth. The marginally positive regional effect for NSRU areas suggests that these local influences were not detrimental to its employment growth.

An analysis of the shift effect by industrial sector in "Rural" Canada measures the performance (in terms of employment growth) of each sector relative to the performance of corresponding sectors at the national level.

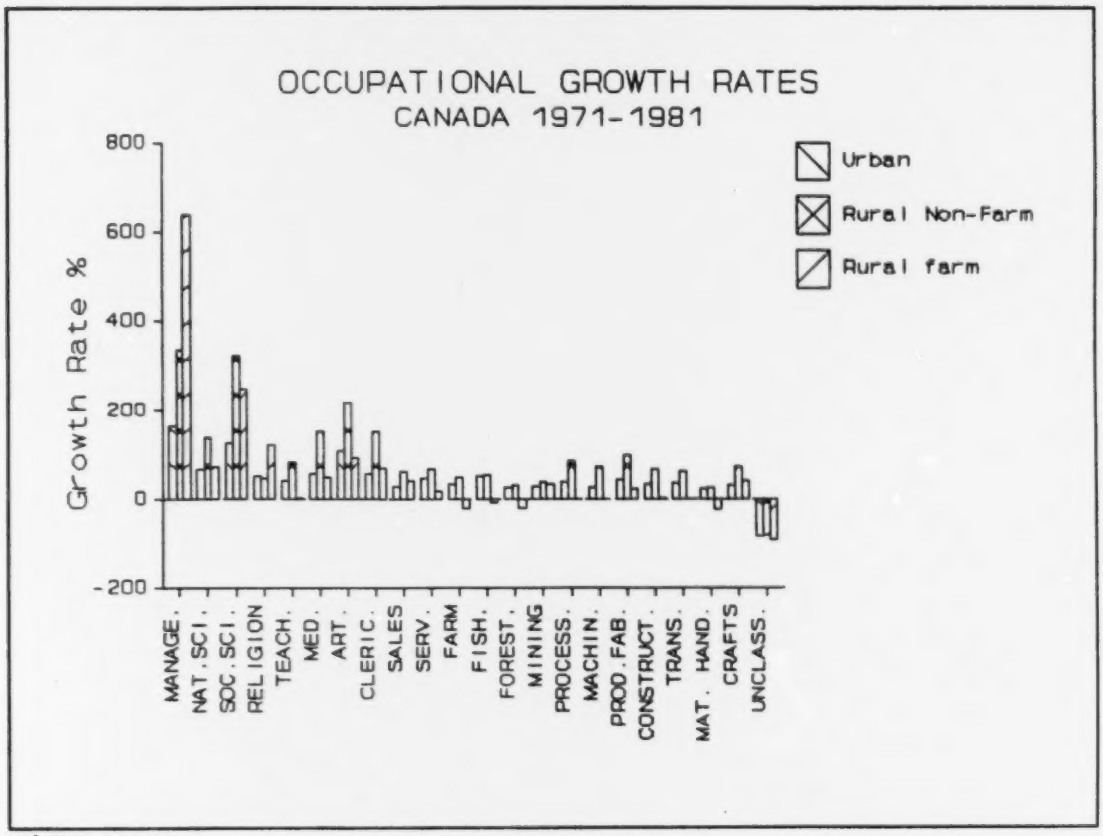

Figure 48

TABLE 4

SHIFT EFFECT - AS % OF EMPLOYMENT GROWTH (LOSS*)
RURAL AND SMALL TOWN CANADA (NSRU): 1976-1989

	1976-80	1981-84*	1985-89
AGRICULTURE	146.75	60.61	17.21
OTHER PRIMARY	7.16	16.27	95.28
MANUFACTURING	- .11	- 157.27	33.00
CONSTRUCTION	142.37	- 29.98	- 5.76
TRANSPORTATION	29.63	- 117.58	- 14.38
TRADE	46.55	41.16	7.19
F.I.R.E.	32.84	4.30	- 8.65
SERVICES	26.70	- 9.47	- 3.85
PUBLIC ADMIN.	63.42	28.74	8.26

Table 4 shows that in the 1985-1989 period, Rural and Small Town Canada had significant positive shifts in primary industries and manufacturing while "rural" employment growth rates in the construction, transportation, financial and service sectors lagged behind the corresponding national averages.

3.5 Rural/Urban Trends in Labour Force by Occupation

3.5.1 1971-1981

The dominance of farming in rural farm areas should not be surprising. According to the 1981 Census, 53% of the labour force living on rural farms were classified in this category (This figure is cut off at 30% in Figure 47 in order for other categories to be distinguishable). This represented a decline both in the relative share of farming from 1971 (62%) as well as in absolute numbers (a decrease of 23% over the ten year period). Some of this decrease can be attributed to the 1980 reclassification of farm managers from the farming category into the managerial classification.

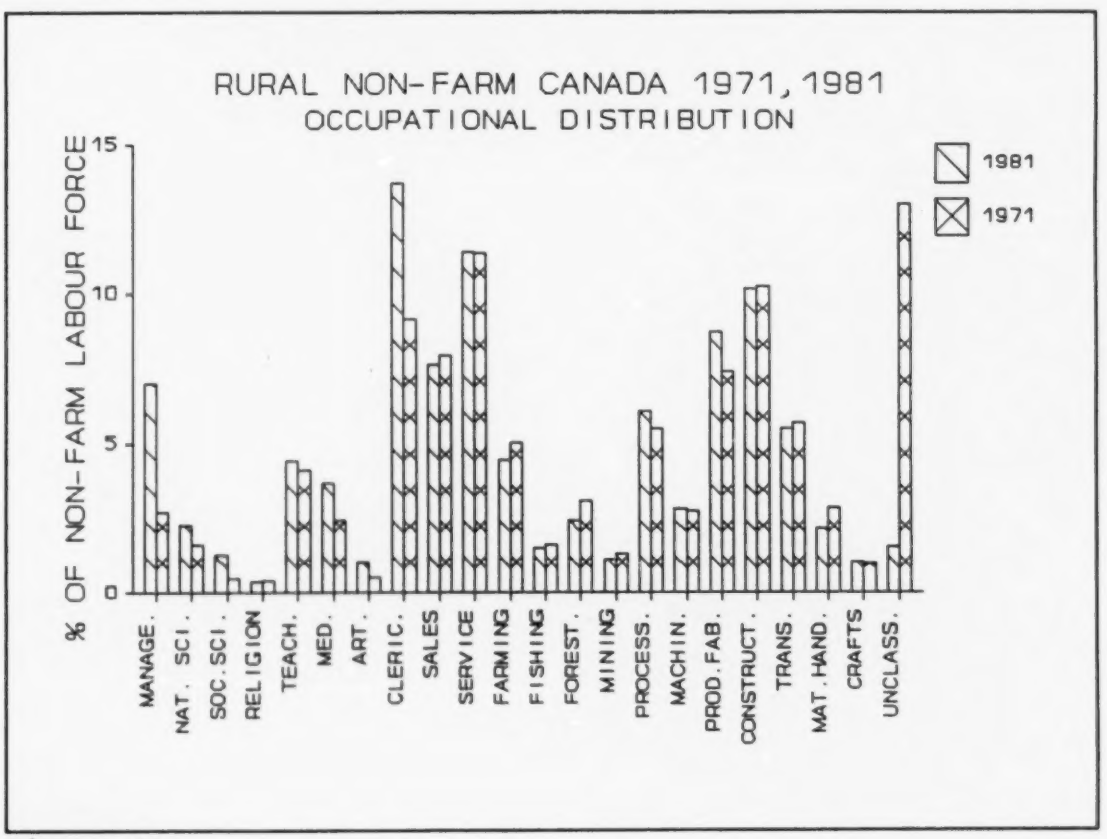

Figure 49

Growth was most pronounced in the managerial/administrative category in part because of this reclassification.[15] However the magnitude of the growth (over 600% during the intercensal period) together with the relative growth of professional services and other complementary service occupations (e.g., clerical work) suggests that the managerial class experienced growth unrelated to the effects of reclassification.

The occupations that decreased in labour force participants were those related to primary production. In addition to farming, mining (which includes gas and oil field workers), fishing, and forestry occupations also declined in the rural farm population.

Non-farm rural areas experienced labour force growth in every occupational category. In relative terms, significant growth occurred in the management/administration, medicine/health and science professional classifications. These categories entail what has been referred to as producer services [Reid, 1990]. This subset of the service sector is characterized by (i) high levels of education, (ii) high wages and (iii) jobs that offer greater upward mobility than other service sector employment. Rural non-farm growth in these occupations exceeded urban growth which indicates that its occupational distribution is becoming increasingly similar to that of urban areas. Clerical occupations also showed considerable relative growth in rural non-farm areas which could be attributable to their complementary relationship to producer service occupations.

The tendency for rural non-farm areas to assume an urban occupational distribution is also apparent in the relative decline of occupations associated with primary production. Moreover, growth rates in the processing and product fabrication labour force were double those of urban areas.

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[15] The data on occupational distribution is based on residence and not where the individual works. Hence, some of the increase in the rural numbers for the managerial category could be the result of the change of residence (e.g., executives moving from the urban core to the rural fringe) without a corresponding change in the place of work. As well, retail sales managers were also reclassified into the managerial classification.

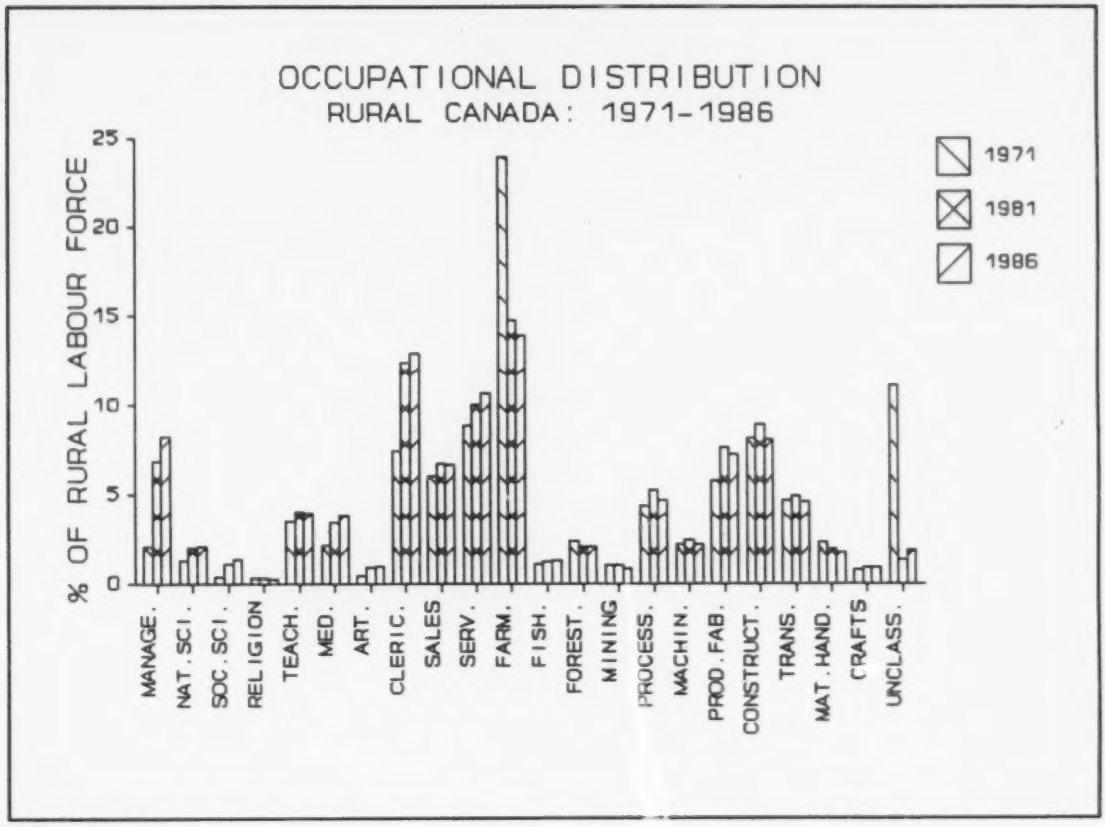

Figure 50

3.5.2 1981-1986

While the published 1986 Census occupational data does not decompose rural data into farm and non-farm, a continuation of the trend towards the convergence of the rural non-farm and urban occupational distributions appears likely. Figure 51 shows that the rural labour force growth rates surpassed urban rates in such traditionally urban-dominated occupations as management/administration, social sciences, service, medicine, and clerical occupations.

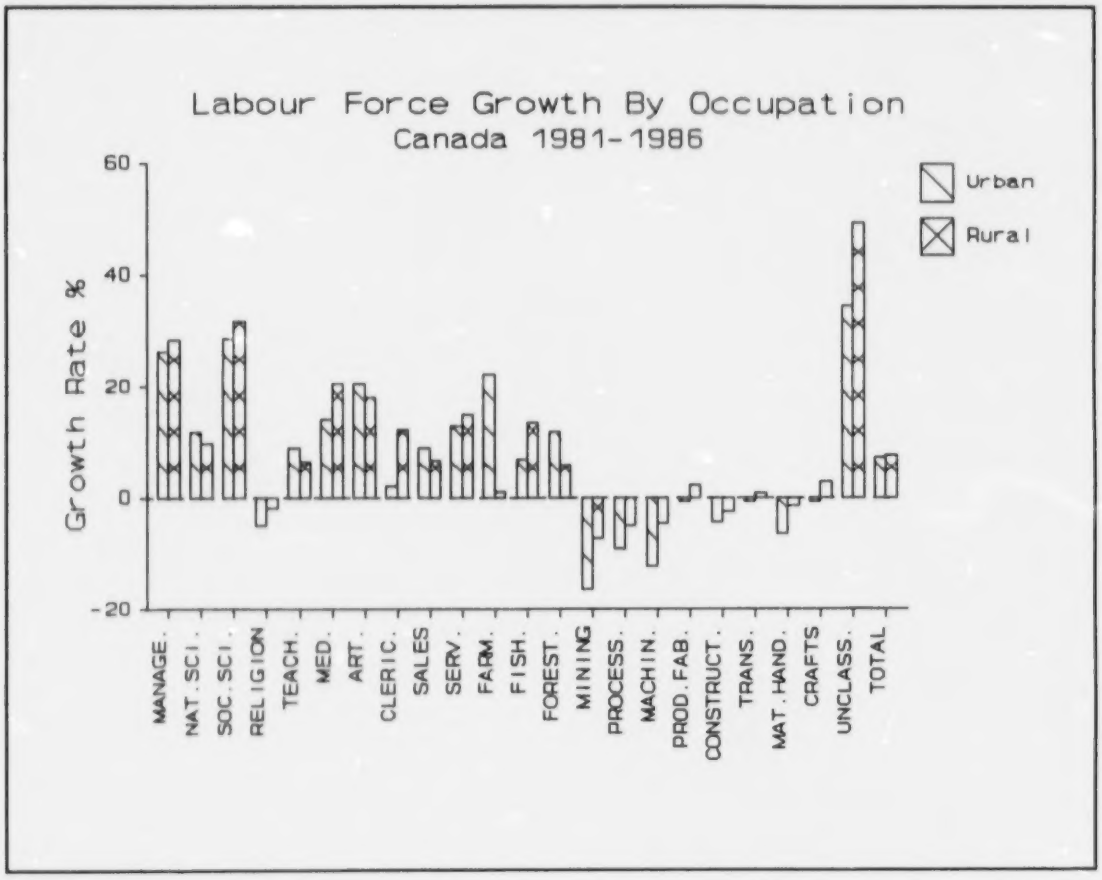

Figure 51

In urban and rural areas, the classifications which showed a decline in their workforce were primarily the production occupations such as machining, mining, and processing. The farming labour force grew during this period but at a rate less than the rural average. However, it continued to be the occupational category with the largest share of the rural workforce.

4. ELEMENTS OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

A thorough comparison of the economic well-being of urban and rural residents necessarily involves the examination of the level of social and economic benefits experienced by each population. Since the comparison is based on groups of individuals, such an analysis also takes into account the distribution of these benefits both across individuals at a single point of time and across generations. A study of this type is beyond the scope of this paper. The data presented here deals only with the elements of well-being that are captured by family and individual income.

The income-based approach to the measurement of well-being has the household as its unit of analysis. In economic theory, the household is defined in terms of the level of organization at which consumption decisions are made. The following data is based on the concept which appears to best approximate this notion of household - the economic family.[16] Data on census families[17] is also used in order to provide a breakdown of rural incomes into farm and non-farm.

Three caveats will be mentioned here with respect to imputing changes in economic well-being from trends in family income. Firstly, family size may not be constant over the period of study. Indeed, from 1971 to 1986 the average size of a census family declined 14% in urban areas and nearly 20% in rural areas. Given the relative decline in urban family size, reductions in family income differentials between rural and urban areas during this time period may not signal increases in rural well-being. Secondly, income data is in terms of market valuations. Hence, no account is given to the decreased amount of leisure or non-market production within the household that increases in employment income may precipitate. Moreover, rural/urban comparisons of family income does not take into account the social and environmental heterogeneity of the two regions that could compensate for differentials in income. Thirdly, price levels will likely vary across urban size classifications. These difficulties should be kept in mind when interpreting the following data in terms of well-being.

---

[16] An economic family is defined as a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption.

[17] A census family is composed of a husband and wife (with or without children) or a lone parent with children who have never married. The set of census families, therefore, is contained within the set of economic families.

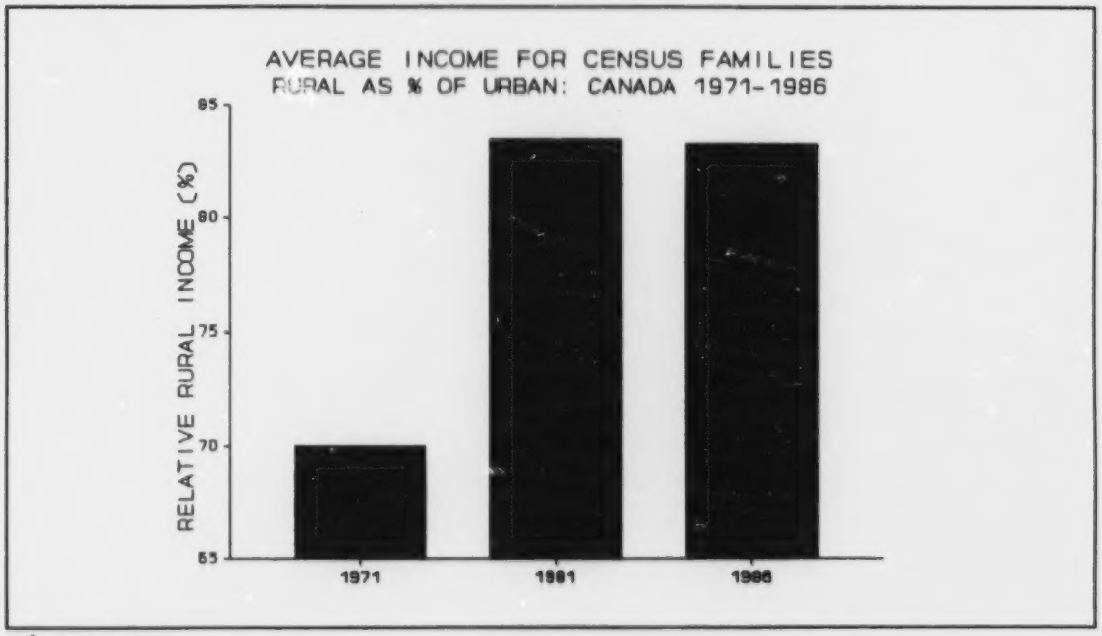

Figure 52

4.1 Rural/Urban Trends in Individual and Family Income

NATIONAL TRENDS

Since 1971, there has been an increase in the real income of both urban and rural census families. During the 1971-1981 period, the latter experienced greater income growth with rural family income increasing from 69% of urban family income to 83% with the farm component of rural income increasing at a greater rate than the non-farm (Figure 52).[18] The 1981-1986 intercensal period saw little difference between the growth rates of rural and urban family incomes and hence minimal change in rural family income relative to urban.

Data pertaining to economic families and unattached individuals also show that rural average incomes were uniformly

[18] Some of this increase may be attributable to the more restrictive definition of rural farm population used in 1981. This definitional change excluded the incomes of residents on census farms who were not classified as operators. Assuming that these families have lower incomes, this would bias the measured growth rates upwards.

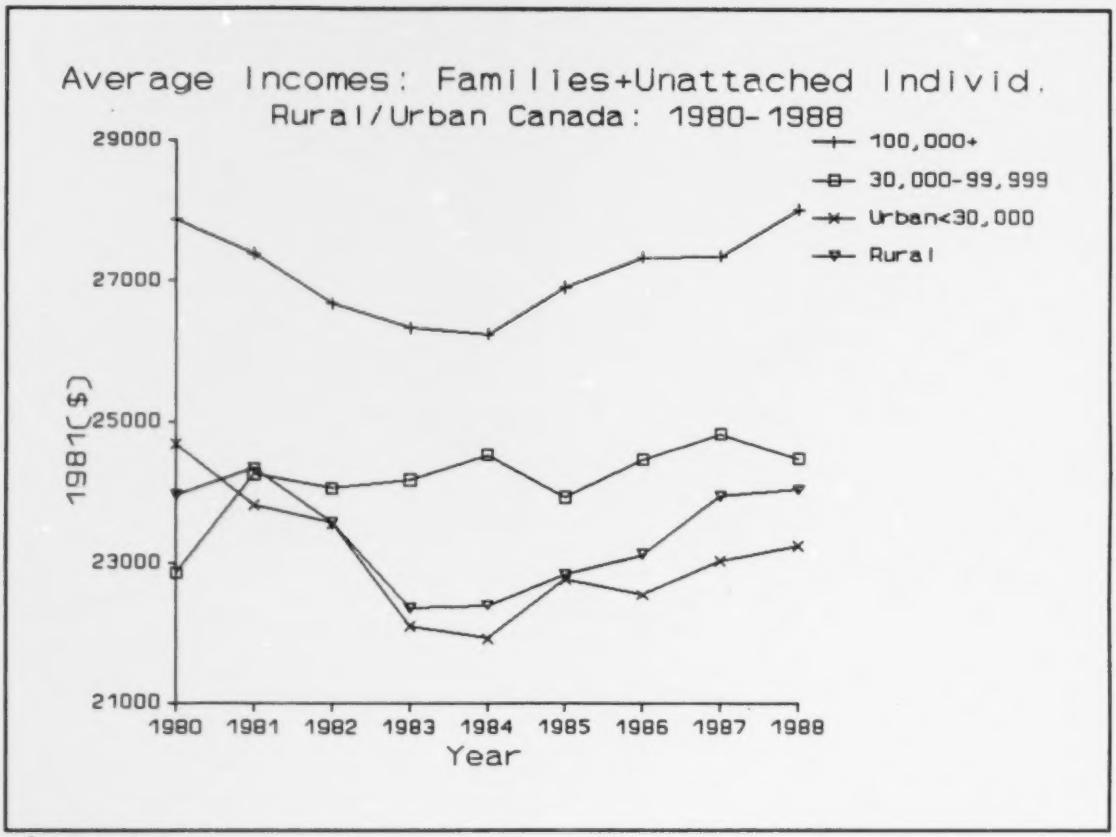

Figure 53

below urban incomes for the 1980-1988 period (Figure 53).[19] However, rural average incomes have surpassed those of small urban areas (1,000 < population < 30,000) since 1983.

No clear pattern emerged in the 1980s regarding growth rates of average family and unattached individual income across urbanization classes.[20] In terms of average income growth rates, small urban and rural areas appears to be the most adversely affected by the recession of the early 1980s (Figure 54).

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[19] Data constraints with respect to the Consumer Finance Survey publications preclude the direct comparison of rural/urban average income from 1973 to 1979. However, since the Canadian average is above the rural throughout the 1973-1988 period it can be inferred that urban averages are higher.

[20] Unlike the SCF 1973-1988 data, the 1980-1988 data uses estimates that were revised on the basis of 1986 Census population numbers. See Income Distributions by Size, Cat. # 13-207, 1987.

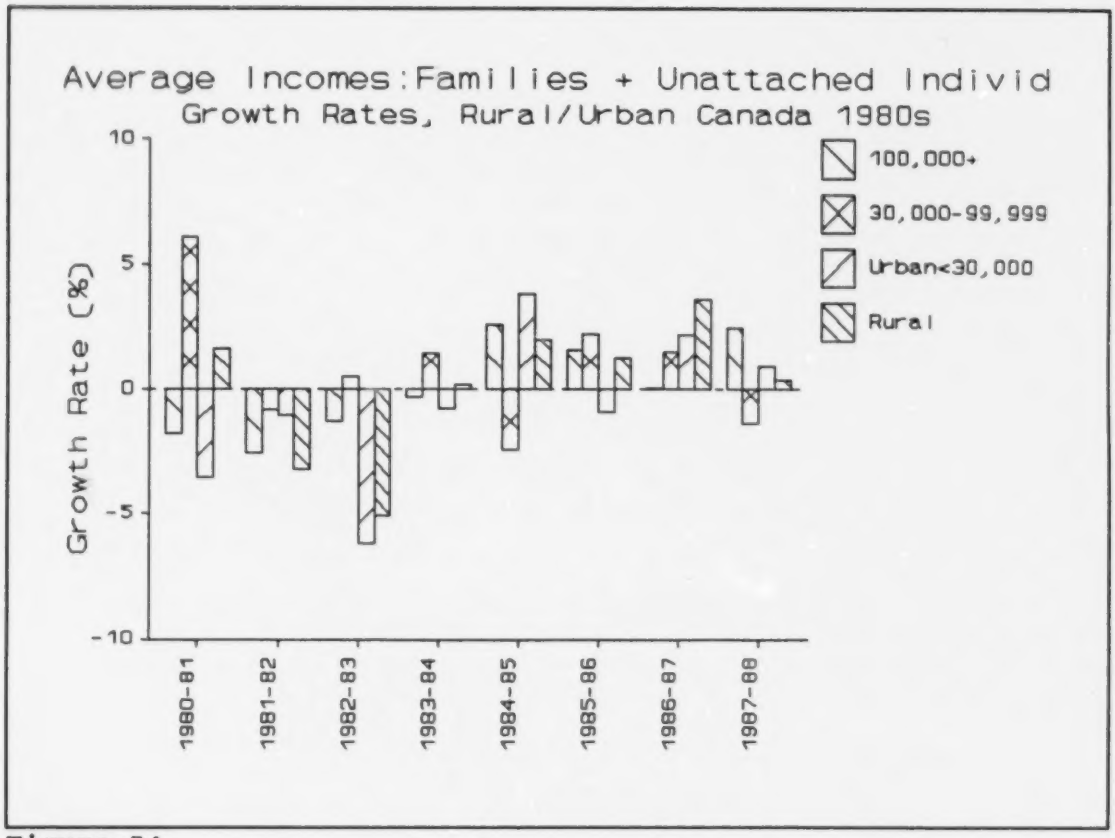

Figure 54

Rural income growth resumed by 1984 and in 1987 rural population had the highest rate across urbanization classes. While rural average incomes grew during the most recent period for which data is available (1988), large urban centres (populations > 100,000) showed the greatest increase.

PROVINCIAL TRENDS

Over the 1981-1988 period, Ontario was the only region to experience growth in average real incomes across all urbanization categories (Figure 55). Indeed, Ontario possessed the highest growth rates for all urban size classes. In general, rural incomes declined in the West and increased in Eastern Canada. Declining real incomes were characteristic of every size category in Western Canada. In Quebec, small towns experienced a 14% decrease in real income during the same period.

In general, regional fluctuations showed greater amplitude than the national data. Changes in average incomes within urbanization classes did not show a uniform tendency to move in the same direction across regions.

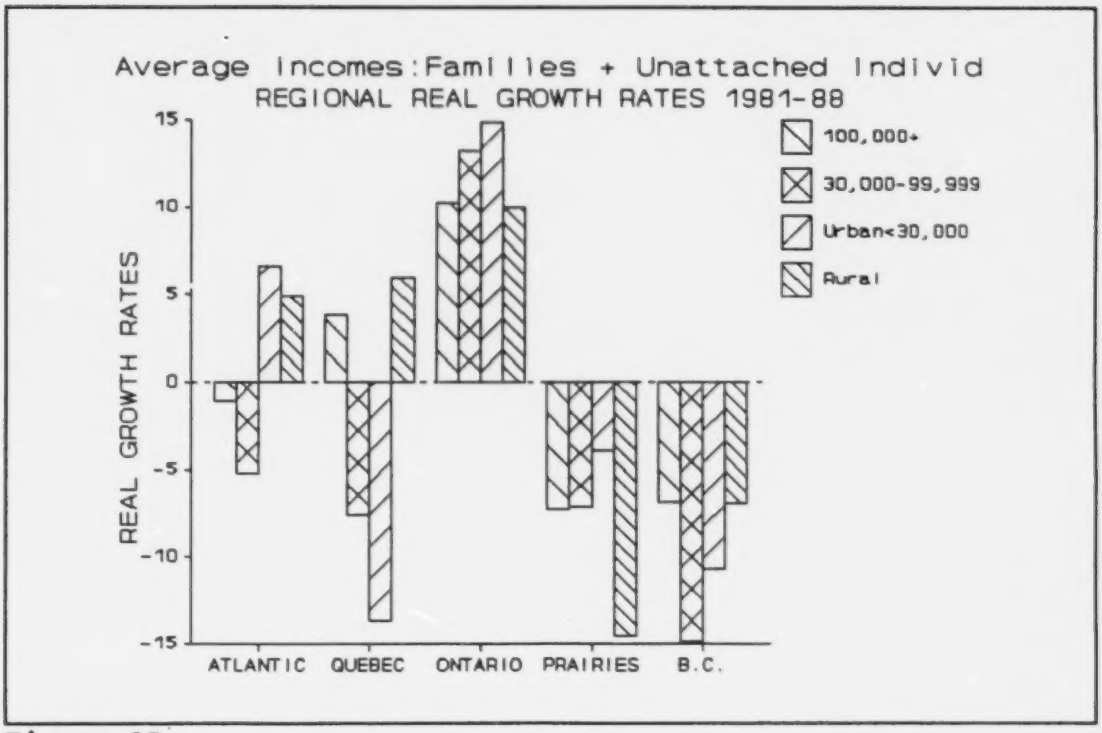

Figure 55

For example, large fluctuations in average incomes were apparent in the prairie provinces during the early 1980s. Rural incomes rose by over 13% in 1981, this increase was dissipated by 1984 after three years of declining incomes. In 1984, the 9% decline in rural incomes on the prairies was partially offset in the national figures by a 12% increase in Quebec rural incomes.

4.1.1 Governmental Impact on Family Income

In order to estimate the impact of government on family income, the tax and transfer structure in effect in 1990 was imposed on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics evident in the 1986 Census. The differential impact of government across urban size classes is a result of the different distribution of these characteristics across Rural and Urban Canada. In terms of the combined effect of provincial and federal governments on (census) family income (i.e., total taxes - total transfers) in 1986, rural and small urban area residents are favourably

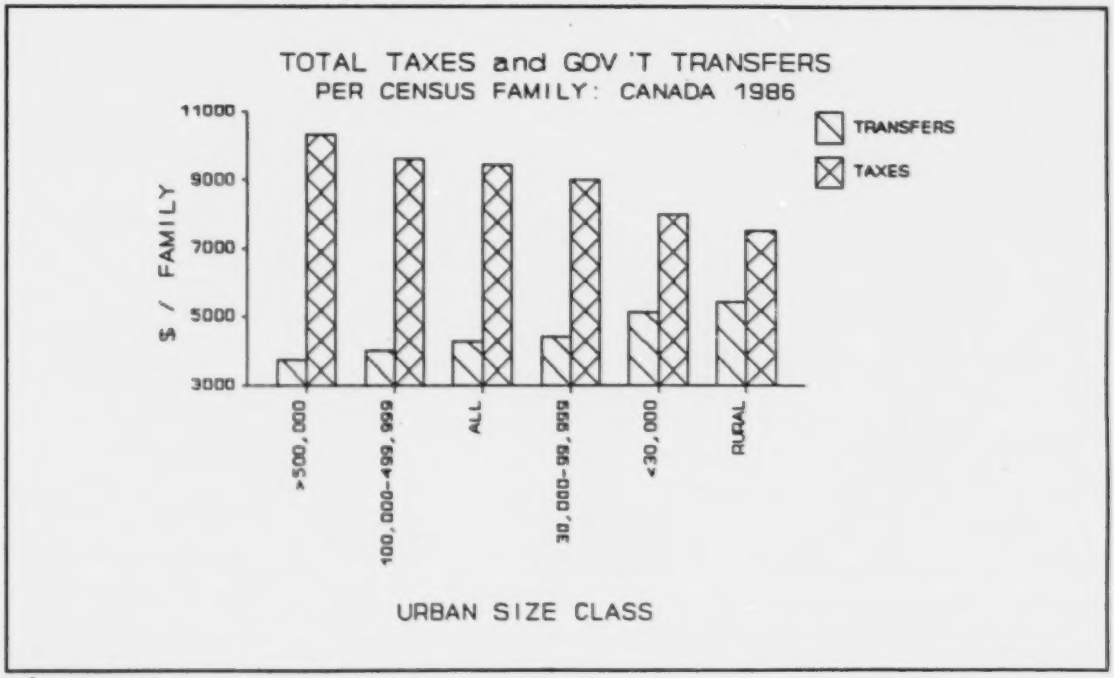

Figure 56

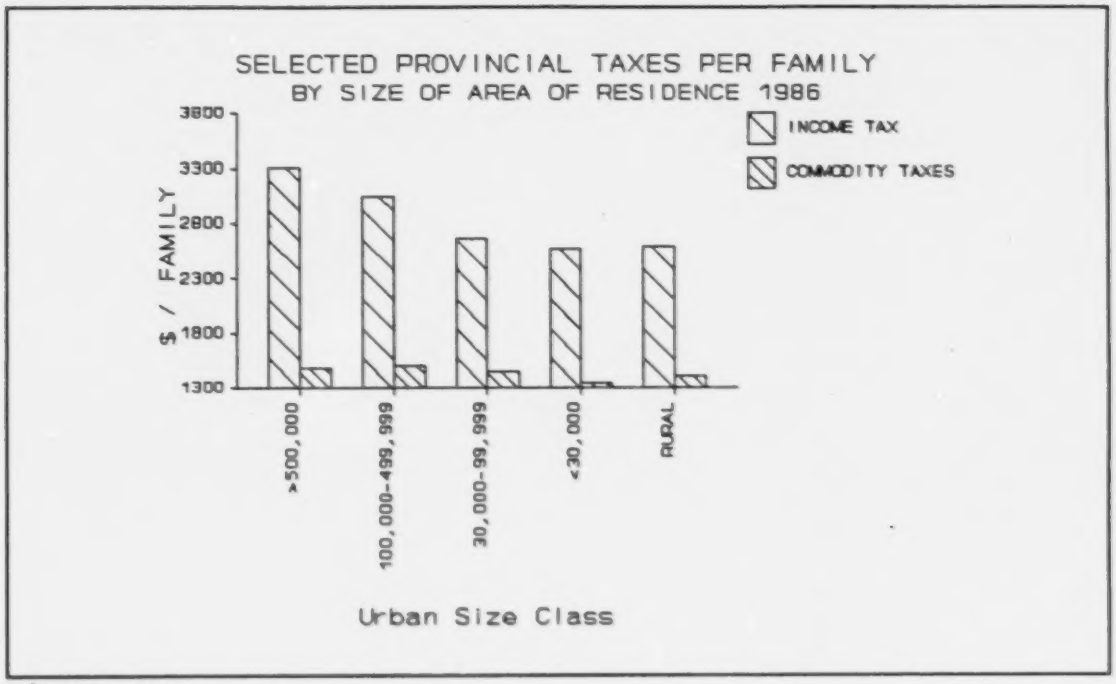

Figure 58

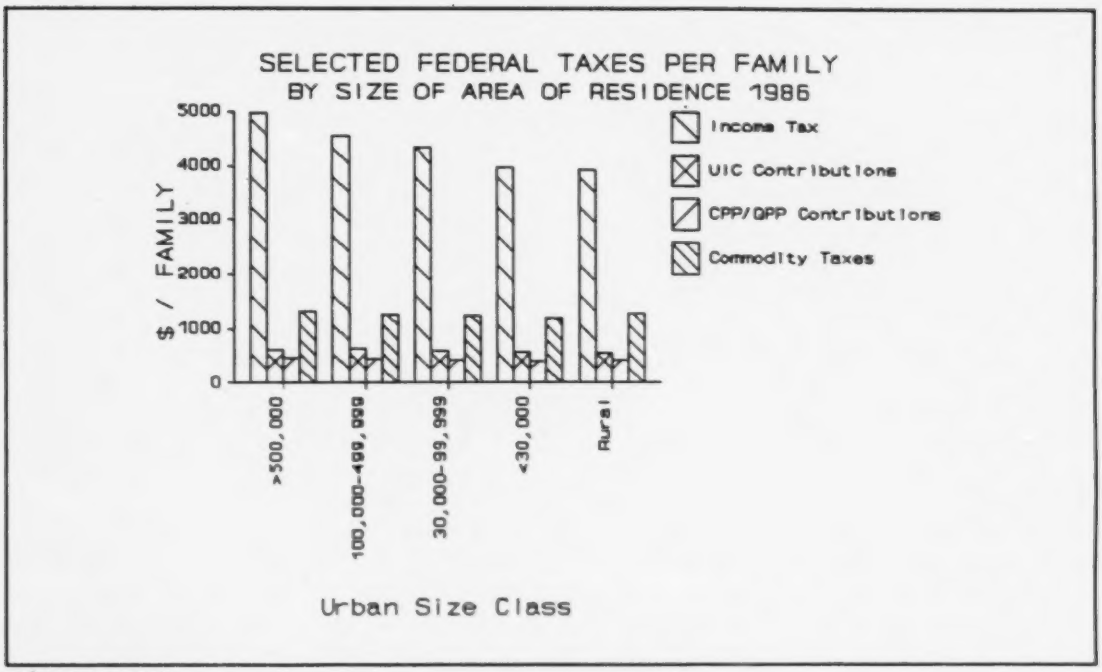

Figure 57

treated compared to families in large urban centres.[21] Rural families had both the lowest average tax load and the highest level of transfer income per family (Figure 56). Across all population strata, total taxes exceeded total transfers.

This inverse relationship between net government transfers and the size of area of residence shows little variation when specific taxes are considered. However, the effect on family incomes of commodity taxes was relatively constant across population strata compared to income taxes (Figures 57, 58).

[21] An assessment of the overall impact of government on family incomes across rural/urban designations requires data on not just transfer payments but on the spatial distribution of total expenditures. A more complete analysis would, of course, examine the time series of the distribution of taxes and expenditure between urban and rural areas. The data used in this section is from the Social Policy Simulation Data Base / Model, Statistics Canada.

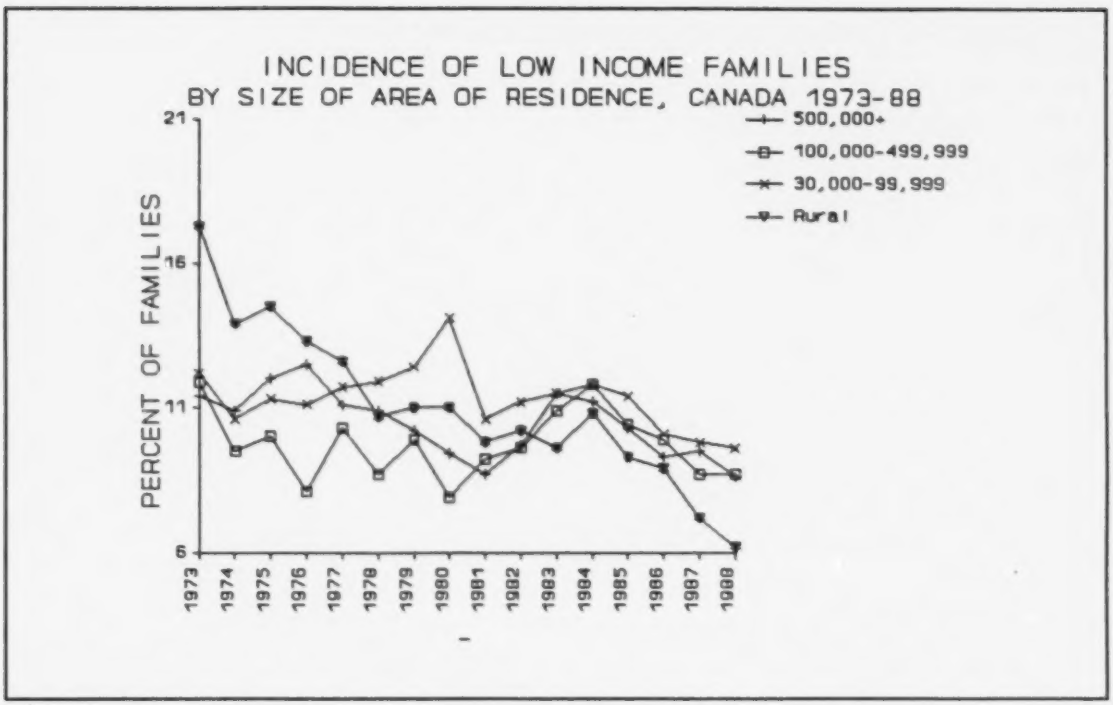

Figure 59

4.2 Income Inequality - Rural/Urban Differences

4.2.1 Incidence of Low Incomes

Low income families are those which spend on average 62% or more of their income on food, shelter and clothing.[22] In 1973, the incidence of low income families (i.e., their share of the total number of families) was highest in rural areas (17%) (Figure 60). The rural number fell to 7% by 1988 and was the lowest across urbanization classes.[23] This general pattern of decreasing rural incidence also holds for low income unattached individuals.

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[22] This definition was based on the results of the 1969 Food Expenditure Survey. This low income cut-off (LICO) is defined for different urban size classes and family sizes. Thus, to some extent, the impact of differing price levels across urban size classes and the effect of differing family size, which is not dealt with in the comparison of average family incomes, is taken into account here.

[23] Data was not available for urban centres with populations less than 30,000 for the 1973-1980 period.

4.2.2 Quintile Data and Gini Coefficients

The inequality measures used here deal with money income (e.g., salaries, net investment income, transfer payments) and hence do not provide information on the distribution of other elements of economic welfare such as wealth, income in kind, leisure, and capital gains. The recipient unit to which these measures are applied is the set of economic families and unattached individuals.

An equal distribution of income among quintiles (i.e., groups composed of one fifth of the population that are ranked in terms of income shares) would exist if each quintile received 20% of total

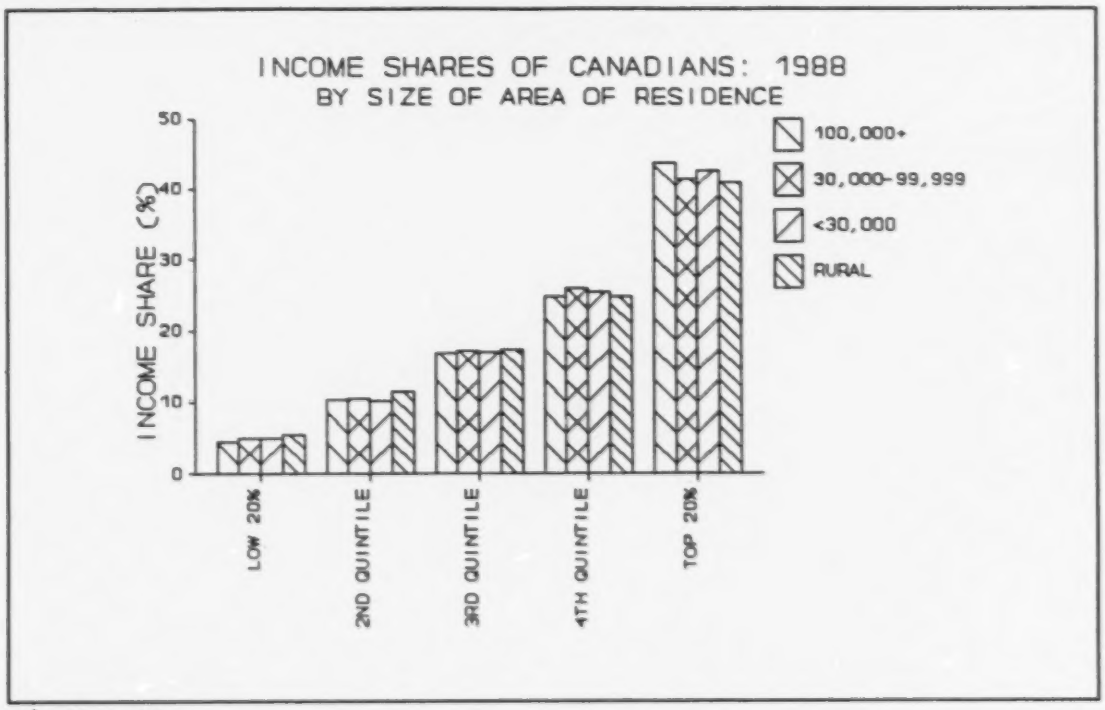

Figure 60

income. As shown in Table 5, "perfect equality" does not exist in either Rural or Metropolitan Canada. However throughout the 1980s, the lower two quintiles fared better in terms of relative income share/s in rural areas than in large urban centres (population > 100,000). As well, the top quintile in these large centres generally had a higher share of income than their rural counterparts. From this evidence, it would appear that there is a more equal distribution of income in rural areas.

Moreover, since 1986 this rural/metropolitan discrepancy in income shares received by both the lowest and top quintile is growing.

TABLE 5

INCOME SHARES OF CANADIANS

FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

RURAL AND METROPOLITAN CANADA: 1980-1988

(values for metropolitan areas are in brackets())

YEAR	LOWEST 20%	SECOND QUINTILE	THIRD QUINTILE	FOURTH QUINTILE	TOP 20%
1980	4.3 (4.3)	11.1 (10.9)	17.9 (17.7)	25.0 (25.1)	41.8 (42.0)
1981	5.0 (4.4)	11.2 (11.0)	17.5 (17.7)	24.7 (25.1)	41.6 (41.7)
1982	5.0 (4.4)	10.9 (10.9)	17.2 (17.5)	24.3 (25.0)	42.6 (42.2)
1983	4.8 (4.2)	10.9 (10.4)	17.2 (17.3)	24.4 (25.1)	42.8 (43.0)
1984	4.8 (4.3)	10.9 (10.3)	17.2 (17.2)	24.9 (24.9)	42.2 (43.2)
1985	5.4 (4.4)	11.2 (10.3)	17.2 (17.0)	24.7 (24.9)	41.5 (43.4)
1986	5.1 (4.5)	10.9 (10.3)	17.1 (17.0)	24.8 (24.9)	42.2 (43.3)
1987	5.4 (4.4)	11.3 (10.2)	17.4 (16.8)	24.7 (24.8)	41.2 (43.8)
1988	5.5 (4.4)	11.4 (10.3)	17.4 (16.8)	24.8 (24.9)	40.9 (43.7)

The Gini coefficient is another commonly used measurement of inequality. The Gini index is constructed in such a way that higher values are associated with greater income inequality.[24] (A value of 1 indicates "perfect inequality".) The Gini evidence (Figure 61) reinforces the impression of lesser income inequality in Rural Canada. As with the quintile data, there is a suggestion of a recent trend of lessening income inequality in Rural Canada as its Gini coefficient has decreased since 1986.

[24] A brief description of the Gini coefficient can be found in Osberg (1981), pp. 12-17.

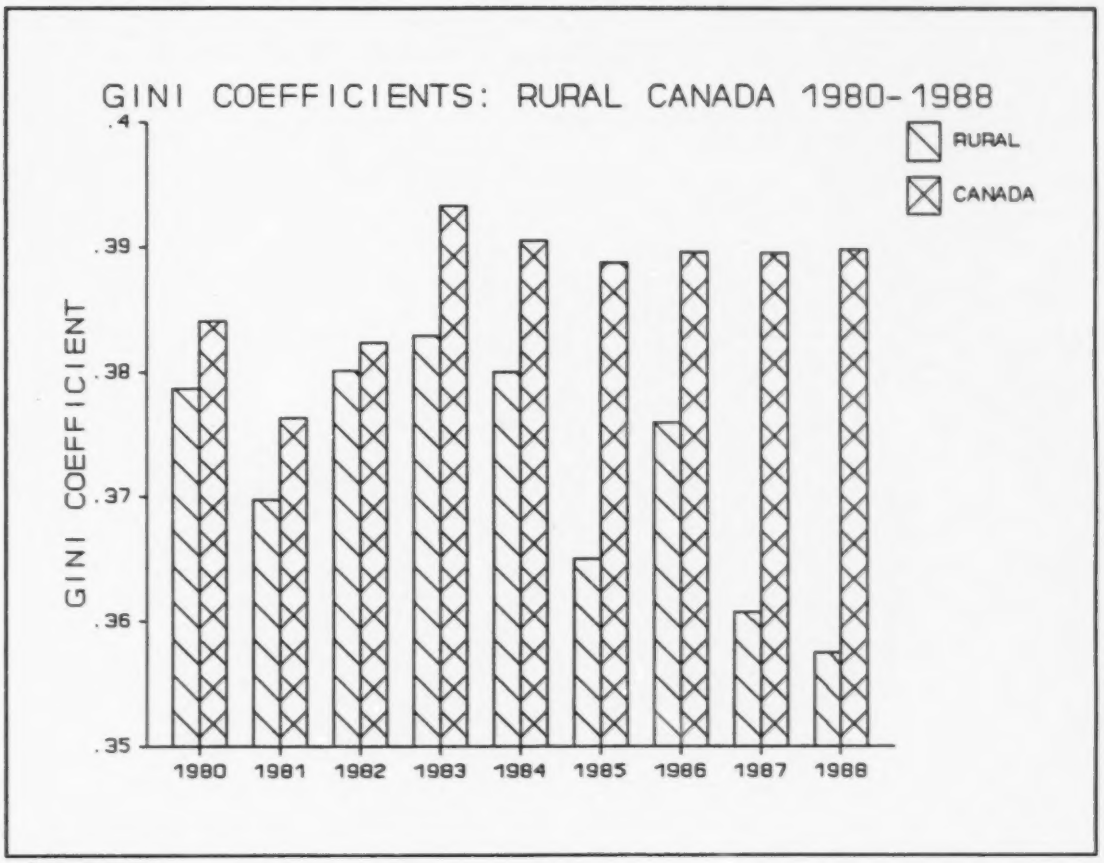

Figure 61

4.3 Other Indicators of Well-Being

4.3.1 Household Expenditures

In a consumer oriented society, an analysis of consumption patterns may be useful in discerning well-being and lifestyle differences across urbanization classes. Data from the 1989 household expenditure survey (Table 6) suggests that the introduction of products in consumer goods into rural households appears to lag behind urban centres. The presence in households of such recent innovations as the compact disk player and video recorders is positively correlated with urban size. In contrast, the consumption of more established goods such as radios and televisions shows little variation across urbanization classes.

The slower diffusion of these new products into rural areas could be accounted for by several factors including the lower average household income present in Rural Canada, the availability of both the products themselves and complimentary consumption goods (e.g., compact disks, repair service) and perhaps even a different social milieu which assigns less status to those who purchase new consumption goods.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PRESENCE OF SELECTED CONSUMPTION GOODS BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE: CANADA 1989

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH:	URBAN SIZE CLASS			
	100K+	30K-99,999	URBAN <30K	RURAL
RENTED ACCOMODATION	44	35	35	14
SINGLE DETACHED DWELLING	47	61	65	87
ELECTRIC WASHING MACHINES	72	84	83	94
AIR CONDITIONERS	29	23	18	14
TELEPHONES	99	98	98	98
RADIOS	99	99	99	99
TELEVISION SETS	99	99	99	99
CABLE TELEVISION	80	82	77	25
VIDEO RECORDERS	60	58	57	56
COMPACT DISC PLAYERS	13	11	11	8
AUTOMOBILES	77	81	77	82
VANS OR TRUCKS	17	30	33	51

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA, CATALOG PUBLICATION NO. 13-218

There also exists a relationship between the degree of urbanization and certain housing characteristics. The large majority of rural households (87%) own the dwellings in which they reside as opposed to large urban areas where only 56% of households have ownership title. The relatively small numbers of renters in rural regions is also reflected in statistics on dwelling-type with single-detached homes being more popular among rural (87%) than large urban households (47%). The relative abundance of space in Rural Canada clearly lessens the need for the high density housing that is associated with rental accommodation.

4.3.2 Levels of Schooling

Education levels appear to be directly related to the population size of area of residence. The share of the relevant population (i.e., over 20 years old) with some post-secondary experience generally increases with the degree of urbanization (Figure 62).

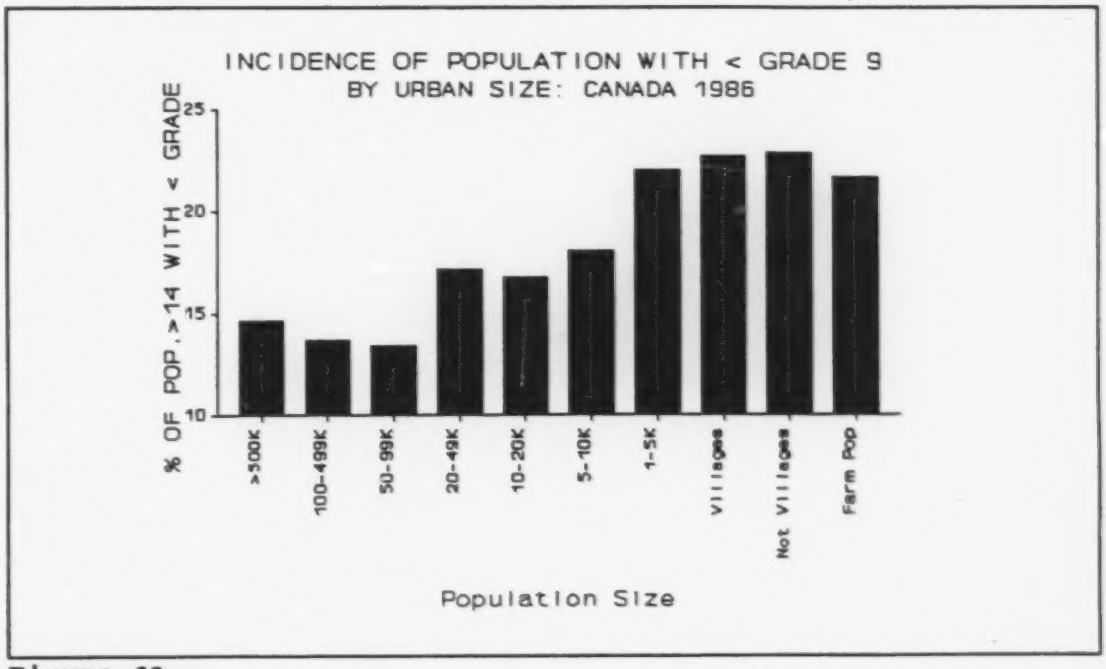

Figure 62

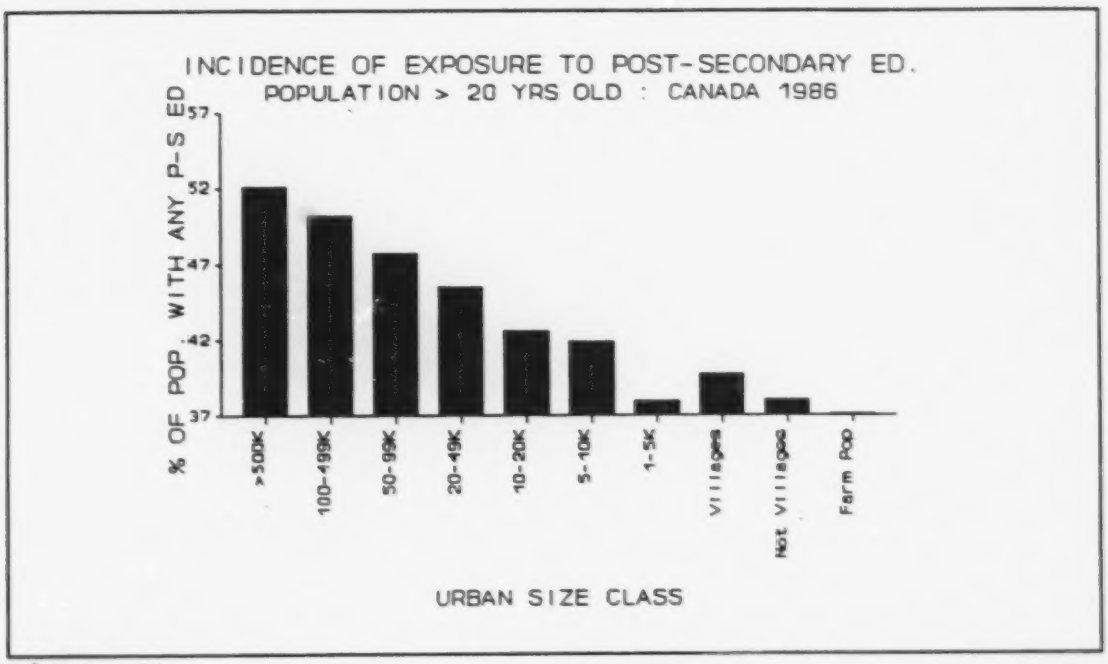

Figure 63

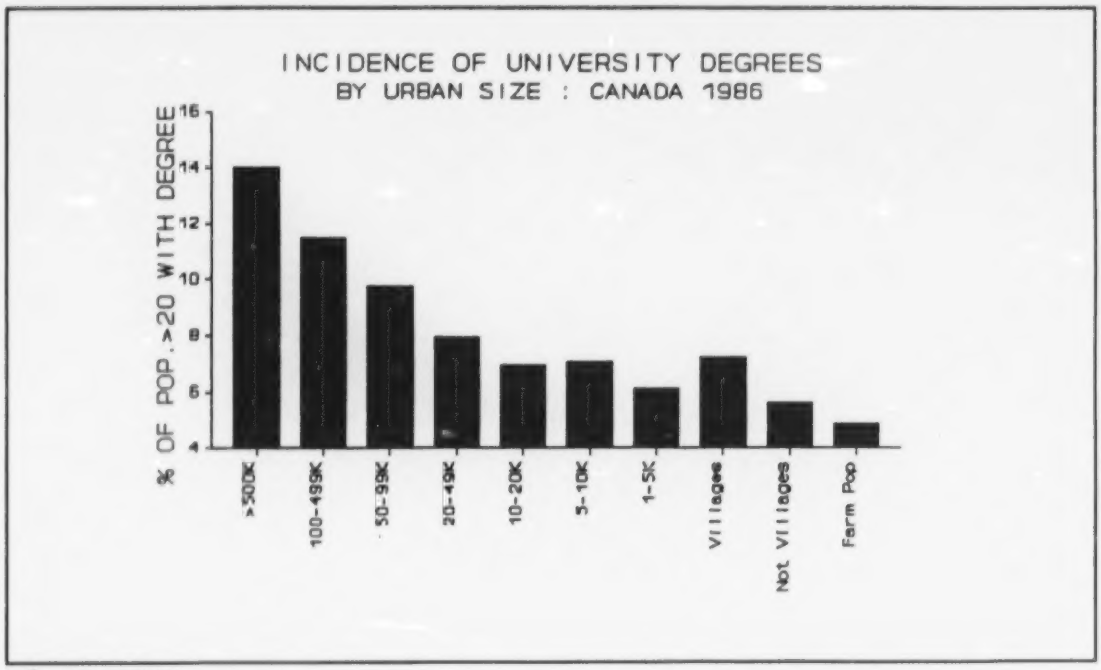

Figure 64

This relationship is also evident among those who complete both university degrees and post-secondary certificate programs (Figure 63). Not surprisingly given the above, rural and small urban areas (population < 5,000) have a noticeably higher proportion of its population over 15 years old with less than a grade 9 education than larger urban centres (Figure 64).

4.3.3 Volunteerism

A 1987 study concerning volunteer activity was conducted in conjunction with the Labour Force Survey. Available data suggests that volunteer activity is more common among residents of rural and small urban areas (populations < 15,000). Moreover, across educational classifications there was a general increase in the share of population involved in communal work activity as area population size decreased. While this relationship is not as strong across religious categories, the highest volunteer rates were generally found in rural and small urban areas. These results are consistent with the intuitively appealing notion that smaller centres possess a greater sense of community than the less socially cohesive "big city".

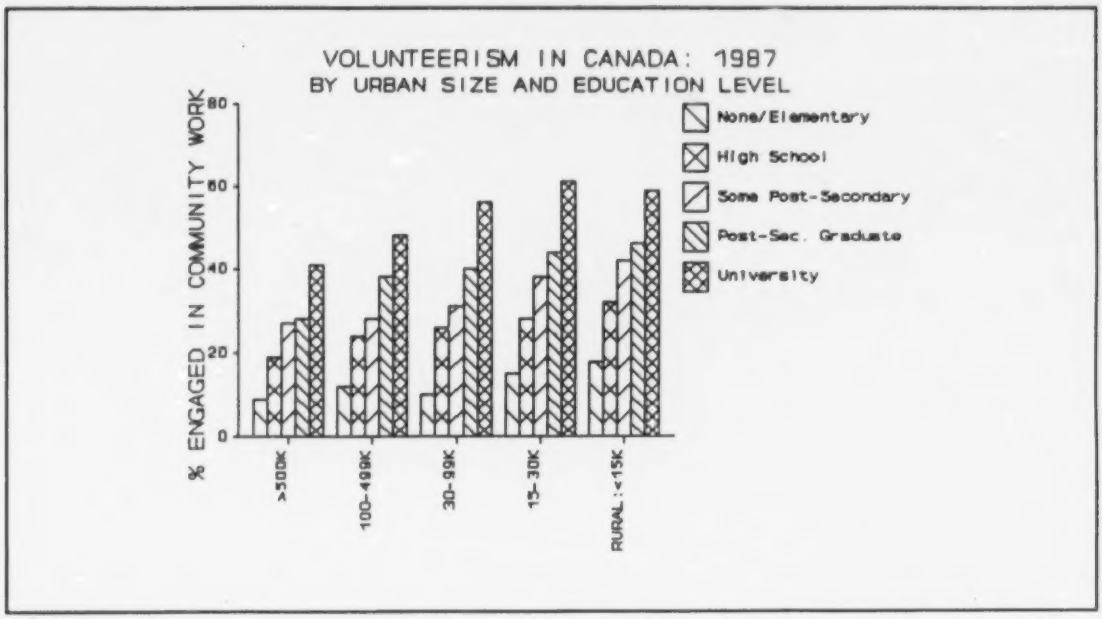

Figure 65

4.3.4 Literacy Skills

In 1989, Statistics Canada conducted a survey on the literacy skills of the adult population (ages 16 to 69). Respondents were categorized into four literacy skill levels according to their ability to comprehend and use the written word. Respondents assigned to the highest level (Level 4) demonstrated a capacity to "meet most everyday reading demands" while those classified to Level 1 were unable to process information from simple text. The highest proportion of adults with low literacy skills (Level 1 and 2) were residents of Rural Canada (Figure 66).

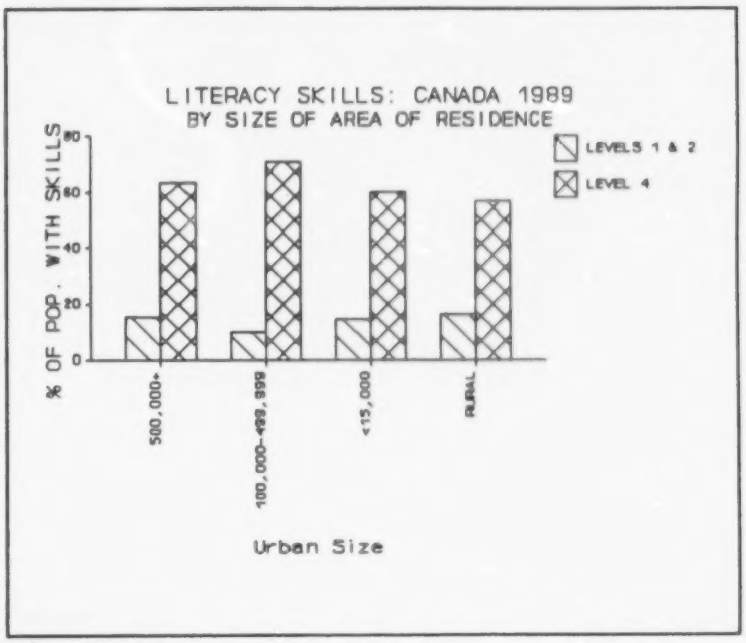

Figure 66

The slightly lower level of literacy skills among the rural population should not be surprising given the survey's findings of a close association between high income, high levels of education, and high literacy skills.

A uniform relationship between urban size and the level of literacy skills was not evident. For example, the incidence of low literacy skills was lower in Small Town Canada (urban population < 15,000) than in large metropolitan areas while smaller metropolitan areas (population < 500,000) had the highest proportion of residents (71%) with reading abilities sufficient to deal with everyday requirements.

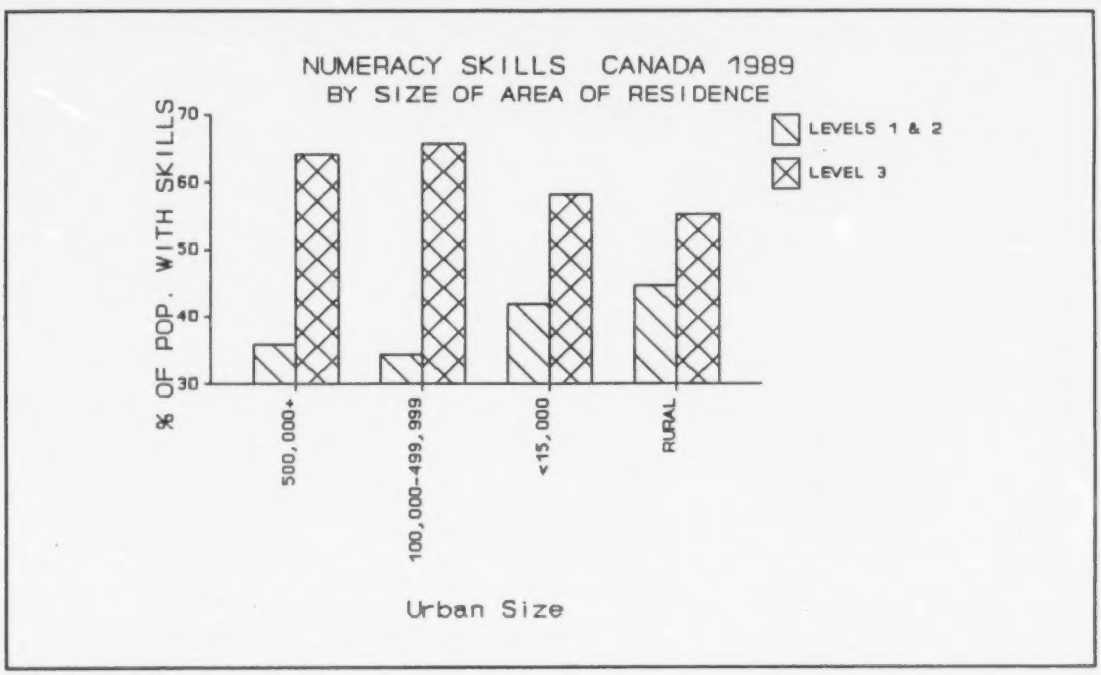

Figure 67

The 1989 study also surveyed the numeracy skills of Canadians. Three levels are used in this classification with Level 3 requiring respondents to "perform simple sequences of numerical operations which enable them to meet their everyday demands". The incidence of low numeracy skills (Levels 1 and 2) was highest among the rural adult population (45% compared to the national average of 38%). Small Town Canada had the second highest incidence of low numeracy skills (42%) while metropolitan areas had the highest (65%) (Figure 67). The survey found that numeracy skills were associated with the level of schooling and with reading skills.

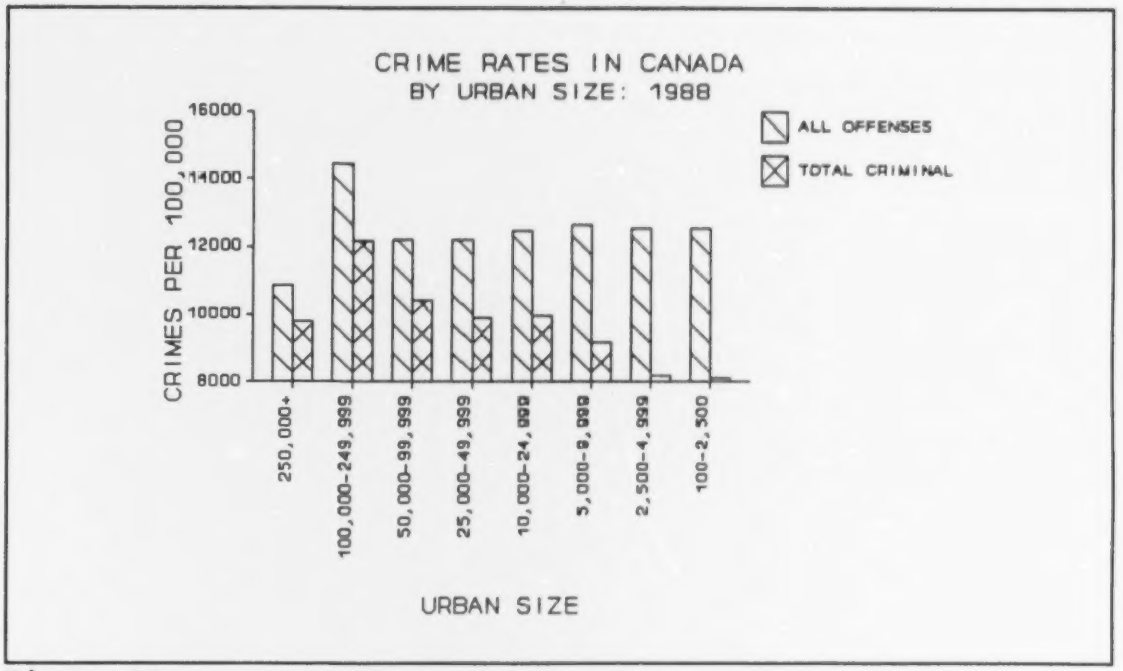

Figure 68

4.3.5 Crime Rates

Statistics from 1988 suggest there is little variation across urban size groups in the rate of total offenses (i.e., criminal and other crimes excluding traffic offenses per 100,000) reported by the police. However, rates of criminal offenses were lowest in small urban centres (population <10,000) and rural communities (Figure 68). Violent crime rates in metropolitan areas were over 15% higher than rates in small urban and rural communities.

Over the 1980-88 period, communities with populations less than 2,500 had the smallest increase in the rates of both total Criminal Code violations and violent crimes (Figure 69). As well, the rate of total offenses declined by almost 20% in these communities.

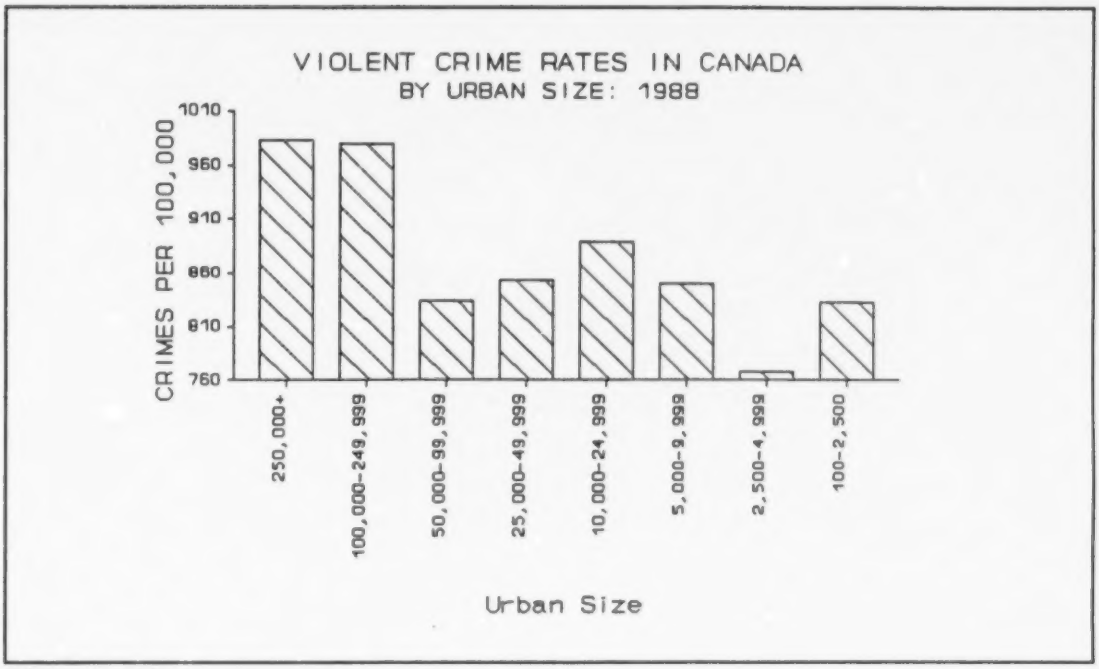

Figure 69

4.3.6 Residential Preferences

Whether individuals wish to leave or remain in their current residential classification provides some indication of their own sense of well-being. In 1989, Decima Research surveyed Canadians regarding their preferred residential location. Those currently living in the urban core were the most likely to show a preference for other community types. While 41% of core residents indicated a willingness to remain in the urban core, almost 38% preferred a rural residence.

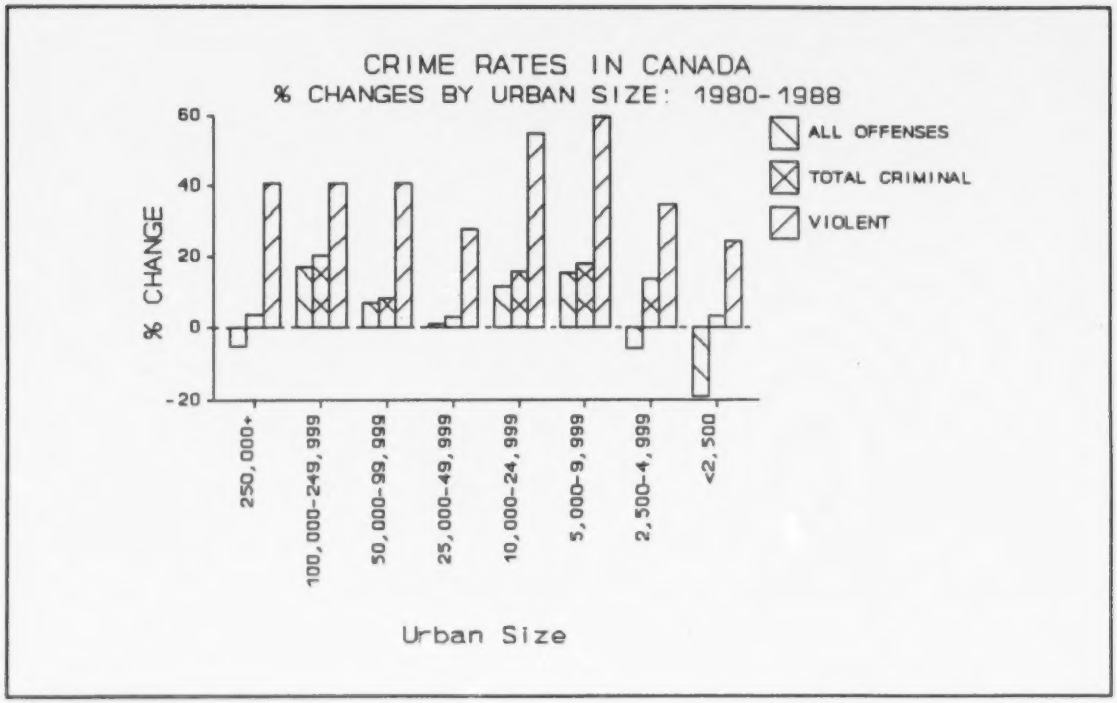

Figure 70

The level of dissatisfaction among urban core residents is not apparent in the rural population. Rural farm residents were the most satisfied with their current residency status - almost 90 % stated a preference to remain on the rural farm. As well, more than 85% of Canadians living in remote rural areas (i.e., more than 100 miles outside a major urban centre) would prefer to remain in Rural Canada.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The diverse if not bewildering data set presented here is difficult to summarize. A meaningful interpretation of the data requires a recognition that the highly aggregated data used here is unable to adequately describe the heterogeneity of either Rural or Urban Canada. The definition of rural used by Statistics Canada encompasses both the growing populations within commuting distance of major urban centres as well as rural communities whose existence is threatened by changing economic conditions, shifts in government policies and rapid depopulation. These aggregate statistics do little to further understanding about the difficulties encountered by specific subgroups in the rural and small town population. Moreover, like all statistical information, the data presented here cannot capture the unquantifiable aspects of rural and small town life.

With these caveats in mind, the data did generate the following findings:

1) The rapid urbanization that Canada experienced in the twenty-five years following World War II has slowed since 1971. A contributing factor has been the rural population growth that has resulted from net migration from urban to rural areas.

2) Despite a declining farm population, rural population is continuing to grow in absolute terms. However, the population of Small Town Canada has been relatively constant since 1951.

3) In the 1981-1986 period, rural population growth was concentrated in the fringe areas of CMAs. In contrast, the rural farm population decreased by 14% - continuing a longstanding downward trend.

4) The level of employment, relative to the working-age population, and labour force participation rates showed similar trends for both Rural and Urban Canada. The levels of both were consistently higher in urban centres.

5) After the recession of the early 1980s, rural unemployment rates did not decline as rapidly as urban rates. By 1989, rural unemployment rates were 2 percentage points higher than urban unemployment rates.

6) Despite a decline in agricultural employment and a increase in service sector employment, rural and small town employment remains relatively concentrated in primary industries.

7) Rural labour force growth in traditionally urban-dominated occupations has made the occupational distribution of their labour forces more similar.

8) Average incomes are lower and income inequality appear to be less pronounced in Rural Canada. Not surprisingly, education levels were also lower among rural residents.

9) Data on volunteerism and crime rates reinforces the notion that rural life is more community-minded and less violent than large urban centres.

The significance of these observations for directing policy would be enhanced if the rural data was disaggregated to a greater degree. This approach would be more in concordance with the view that rurality is a continuum (or even continua) (e.g., see Gilford et al. (1981), pp.1-25). At a minimum, the disaggregation should be along both a socioeconomic dimension (e.g., farm versus non-farm) and geographic dimensions (e.g., rural fringe versus areas outside commuting distance of large urban centres). An analysis based on such data would provide greater insights into the diverse population that is encompassed by the Statistics Canada definition of rural.

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DATA SOURCES

All data is obtained from Census publications, Labour Force Survey publications, Survey of Consumer Finances publications and Centre for Justice Statistics publications except for the following:

1) 1971-1976 Migration data (Field, 1988).

2) 1981-1986 Migration data (unpublished Census data).

3) 1986 demographic, labour force data by Census Subdivision (Census special tabulation).

4) Residential preferences data (Decima Research, 1989).

5) Income Quintile and Gini Coefficient data by urban size class (Survey of Consumer Finances special tabulation).

6) Distribution by industry by urban size class (Labour Force Survey special tabulation).

7) 1986 Census family income (rural/urban) (unpublished Census data).

8) 1986 rural/urban occupational distribution (unpublished Census data).

APPENDIX

RURAL POPULATION STATISTICS
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1931-1986

	RURAL FARM*	RURAL NON-FARM	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL RURAL	FARM AS A % OF RURAL POPULATION	FARM AS A % OF TOTAL POPULATION
CANADA**						
1931	3223422	1568713	10362833	4792135	67.26	31.11
1941	3116922	2122172	11489713	5239094	59.49	27.13
1951	2827660	2533734	13984329	5361394	52.74	20.22
1956	2631535	2710013	16049288	5341548	49.27	16.40
1961	2072720	3441480	18200621	5514200	37.59	11.39
1966	1913622	3349741	19971760	5263363	36.36	9.58
1971	1419715	3712655	21515110	5132370	27.66	6.60
1976	1225485	4370170	22928150	5595655	21.90	5.34
1981	1039840	4835319	24274287	5875159	17.70	4.28
1986	890480	5030440	25233590	5920920	15.04	3.53
NEWFOUNDLAND						
1931	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1941	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1951	15456	191165	361416	206621	7.48	4.28
1956	10138	219684	415074	229822	4.41	2.44
1961	9077	216756	457853	225833	4.02	1.98
1966	8455	218252	493396	226707	3.73	1.71
1971	4525	218775	522105	223300	2.03	.87
1976	3070	226380	557725	229450	1.34	.55
1981	1925	232858	567681	234783	.82	.34
1986	1685	231935	568350	233620	.72	.30
P.E.I.						
1931	54963	12690	88038	67653	81.24	62.43
1941	50732	19975	95047	70707	71.75	53.38
1951	46757	26987	98429	73744	63.40	47.50
1956	43112	25703	99285	68815	62.65	43.42
1961	34514	36206	104629	70720	48.80	32.99
1966	30841	37947	108535	68788	44.83	28.42
1971	21130	47725	111635	68855	30.69	18.93
1976	15675	58675	118225	74350	21.08	13.26
1981	12015	65976	122506	77991	15.41	9.81
1986	10270	68085	126640	78355	13.11	8.11
NOVA SCOTIA						
1931	173965	107227	512846	281192	61.87	33.92
1941	141182	169240	577962	310422	45.48	24.43
1951	112135	185618	642584	297753	37.66	17.45
1956	95381	200242	694717	295623	32.26	13.73
1961	56832	279663	737007	336495	16.89	7.71
1966	45251	271881	756039	317132	14.27	5.99
1971	26270	315290	788965	341560	7.69	3.33
1976	20970	345005	828570	365975	5.73	2.53
1981	17681	362919	847442	380600	4.65	2.09
1986	14170	387880	873175	402050	3.52	1.62

RURAL POPULATION STATISTICS
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1931-1986

	RURAL FARM*	RURAL NON-FARM	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL RURAL	FARM AS A % OF RURAL POPULATION	FARM AS A % OF TOTAL POPULATION
NEW BRUNSWICK						
1931	178494	100785	408219	279279	63.91	43.73
1941	163067	150911	457401	313978	51.94	35.65
1951	145771	154915	515697	300686	48.48	28.27
1956	125011	175315	554616	300326	41.63	22.54
1961	62265	257658	597936	319923	19.46	10.41
1966	51504	253059	616788	304563	16.91	8.35
1971	25565	247845	634560	273410	9.35	4.03
1976	18520	304310	677250	322830	5.74	2.73
1981	14972	328211	696403	343183	4.36	2.15
1986	12110	347030	709445	359140	3.37	1.71
QUEBEC						
1931	743598	317051	2874255	1060649	70.11	25.87
1941	823791	398407	3331882	1222192	67.40	24.72
1951	766910	591453	4055681	1358363	56.46	18.91
1956	740387	647153	4628378	1387540	53.36	16.00
1961	564826	787981	5259211	1352807	41.75	10.74
1966	493567	762164	5780845	1255731	39.31	8.54
1971	305300	861215	6027765	1166515	26.17	5.06
1976	234285	1067410	6234445	1301695	18.00	3.76
1981	186362	1258202	6438403	1444564	12.90	2.89
1986	143380	1300085	6532460	1443465	9.93	2.19
ONTARIO						
1931	785550	550141	3431683	1335691	58.81	22.89
1941	694684	754338	3787655	1449022	47.94	18.34
1951	678043	668400	4597542	1346443	50.36	14.75
1956	632153	669861	5404933	1302014	48.55	11.70
1961	505699	906864	6236092	1412563	35.80	8.11
1966	481695	885735	6960870	1367430	35.23	6.92
1971	363640	995840	7703105	1359480	26.75	4.72
1976	331510	1224435	8264465	1555945	21.31	4.01
1981	279826	1298249	8625107	1578075	17.73	3.24
1986	232790	1399485	9101695	1632275	14.26	2.56
MANITOBA						
1931	254302	129868	700139	384170	66.20	36.32
1941	248684	159187	729744	407871	60.97	34.08
1951	214435	122526	776541	336961	63.64	27.61
1956	202163	137294	850040	339457	59.55	23.78
1961	171472	161407	921686	332879	51.51	18.60
1966	159872	157146	963066	317018	50.43	16.60
1971	130410	171390	988245	301800	43.21	13.20
1976	113550	193475	1021505	307025	36.98	11.12
1981	96394	199188	1026241	295582	32.61	9.39
1986	84690	211475	1063015	296165	28.60	7.97

RURAL POPULATION STATISTICS
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1931-1986

	RURAL FARM*	RURAL NON-FARM	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL RURAL	FARM AS A % OF RURAL POPULATION	FARM AS A % OF TOTAL POPULATION
SASKATCHEWAN						
1931	561407	69473	921785	630880	88.99	60.90
1941	513279	87567	895992	600846	85.43	57.29
1951	398279	180979	831728	579258	68.76	47.89
1956	360651	198011	880665	558662	64.56	40.95
1961	304672	222418	925181	527090	57.80	32.93
1966	279642	207375	955344	487017	57.42	29.27
1971	233335	202280	926240	435615	53.56	25.19
1976	202110	207880	921325	409990	49.30	21.94
1981	180255	224892	968313	405147	44.49	18.62
1986	161495	227920	1009610	389415	41.47	16.00
ALBERTA						
1931	370899	82198	731605	453097	81.86	50.70
1941	380693	108890	796169	489583	77.76	47.82
1951	339955	149871	939501	489826	69.40	36.18
1956	327201	160091	1123116	487292	67.15	29.13
1961	285823	202910	1331944	488733	58.48	21.46
1966	277598	178198	1463203	455796	60.90	18.97
1971	236025	195590	1627875	431615	54.68	14.50
1976	217915	240955	1838035	458870	47.49	11.86
1981	190755	319424	2237724	510179	37.39	8.52
1986	178115	309955	2365830	488070	36.49	7.53
B.C.						
1931	100244	199280	694263	299524	33.47	14.44
1941	100810	273657	817861	374467	26.92	12.33
1951	109919	261820	1165210	371739	29.57	9.43
1956	95338	276659	1398464	371997	25.63	6.82
1961	77540	369617	1629082	447157	17.34	4.76
1966	85197	377984	1873674	463181	18.39	4.55
1971	73520	456700	2184620	530220	13.87	3.37
1976	67885	501635	2466610	569520	11.92	2.75
1981	59655	545400	2744467	605055	9.86	2.17
1986	51775	546590	2883370	598365	8.65	1.80

* = 1976 data uses 1971 definition of "farm"
** = Data on Canada excludes the Yukon and N.W.T.

DEPENDENCY RATIO BY PROVINCE
BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE
1951-1986

PROVINCE/YEAR	URBAN SIZE CLASS			
BRITISH COLUMBIA	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.65	.51	.59	.60
1956	.72	.64	.61	.64
1961	.79	.66	.70	.74
1966	.68	.63	.67	.73
1971	.65	.55	.64	.64
1976	.55	.42	.55	.56
1981	.51	.44	.51	.54
1986	.51	.44	.54	.57
ALBERTA	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.67	.50	.56	.64
1956	.74	.61	.66	.72
1961	.78	.68	.71	.79
1966	.79	.67	.71	.81
1971	.72	.58	.63	.73
1976	.63	.47	.55	.65
1981	.57	.39	.49	.58
1986	.55	.41	.51	.59
SASKATCHEWAN	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.67		.52	.59
1956	.75		.61	.71
1961	.80	.64	.73	.77
1966	.79	.67	.74	.80
1971	.71	.61	.67	.76
1976	.65	.52	.58	.72
1981	.63	.48	.58	.70
1986	.65	.48	.60	.75

DEPENDENCY RATIO BY PROVINCE
BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE
1951-1986

PROVINCE/YEAR	URBAN SIZE CLASS			
MANITOBA	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.70	.45	.56	.63
1956	.77	.59	.61	.74
1961	.82	.64	.67	.76
1966	.82	.63	.66	.76
1971	.77	.56	.59	.72
1976	.68	.50	.56	.68
1981	.63	.48	.54	.67
1986	.62	.47	.53	.68
ONTARIO	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.68	.44	.52	.62
1956	.75	.54	.63	.71
1961	.79	.61	.68	.78
1966	.79	.60	.67	.76
1971	.72	.52	.63	.72
1976	.59	.48	.53	.61
1981	.52	.43	.50	.58
1986	.51	.42	.51	.58
QUEBEC	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.87	.46	.59	.69
1956	.89	.55	.71	.76
1961	.90	.60	.60	.78
1966	.85	.58	.65	.73
1971	.76	.60	.63	.69
1976	.58	.45	.47	.53
1981	.51	.41	.43	.49
1986	.50	.40	.45	.50
NEW BRUNSWICK	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.88		.57	.70
1956	.92		.66	.77
1961	.95		.70	.83
1966	.89		.68	.78
1971	.76		.61	.69
1976	.65		.53	.61
1981	.62		.49	.56
1986	.53		.48	.54

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DEPENDENCY RATIO BY PROVINCE
BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE
1951-1986

PROVINCE/YEAR	URBAN SIZE CLASS			
NOVA SCOTIA	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.79		.57	.69
1956	.82	.68	.66	.73
1961	.84	.69	.76	.75
1966	.83	.66	.71	.74
1971	.73	.54	.65	.67
1976	.64	.47	.59	.61
1981	.57	.42	.55	.57
1986	.54	.40	.55	.56
P.E.I.	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.81		.58	.71
1956	.89		.65	.79
1961	.92		.74	.80
1966	.89		.73	.83
1971	.79		.67	.79
1976	.68		.58	.72
1981	.60		.54	.66
1986	.57		.52	.63
NEWFOUNDLAND	RURAL	100,000+	10,000-99,999	10,000 AND LESS
1951	.90		.63	.84
1956	.93		.74	.90
1961	.99		.78	.87
1966	.95		.72	.85
1971	.86		.57	.74
1976	.75		.58	.69
1981	.65		.52	.61
1986	.57	.46	.49	.54

URBAN POPULATION TRENDS: CANADA AND THE PROVINCES 1951-1986
BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE

POPULATION SIZE	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
CANADA								
100,000+	3362521	6225939	7923997	9469304	10246165	11685300	12593235	13363486
10,000-99,999	2958985	2492270	2753898	2941192	3679130	3466630	3557945	3758667
<10,000	2306747	1996646	2022495	2316263	2485475	2215020	2284745	2229932
NEWFOUNDLAND								
100,000+	0	0	0	0	0	106680	110020	117875
10,000-99,999	52873	101216	133406	119752	136040	87895	86465	82835
<10,000	101922	84036	98614	146937	162750	133760	136400	134360
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND								
100,000+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10,000-99,999	15887	16707	18318	35993	37630	37120	36160	40700
<10,000	8798	13763	15591	3754	5145	6755	8350	7460
NOVA SCOTIA								
100,000+	0	272547	276284	293874	190290	206235	222355	238125
10,000-99,999	178708	22551	49065	50953	122495	148075	134365	129365
<10,000	166123	103996	75163	94080	134620	108270	110115	103370
NEW BRUNSWICK								
100,000+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10,000-99,999	127209	166333	197726	230056	242645	255330	253020	253635
<10,000	87802	87957	80287	82169	118505	99080	100190	97165
QUEBEC								
100,000+	1185536	2009887	2637872	3052509	3186885	3396820	3637740	3758665
10,000-99,999	752071	581595	662177	830649	969440	993330	814545	796700
<10,000	759711	649356	606355	641956	704915	542610	541550	534500

URBAN POPULATION TRENDS: CANADA AND THE PROVINCES 1951-1986
BY SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE

POPULATION SIZE								
ONTARIO								
100,000+	1307751	2292467	2958955	3676125	4125850	4941495	5204170	5563160
10,000-99,999	1227852	1204528	1232704	1217672	1502510	1102855	1189605	1253600
<10,000	715496	605924	631870	699643	715255	664180	653260	651445
MANITOBA								
100,000+	235710	409121	465712	500258	528250	549215	563675	593045
10,000-99,999	109036	45555	51100	52667	71970	72885	73650	76630
<10,000	94834	55907	71995	93123	86225	92380	93350	97535
SASKATCHEWAN								
100,000+	0	0	112141	247019	265915	283340	316830	352625
10,000-99,999	166091	223731	176874	103081	106640	113265	120265	146695
<10,000	86379	98272	109076	118227	118075	114715	126070	119530
ALBERTA								
100,000+	288691	451453	605342	711369	858070	982480	1188295	1290110
10,000-99,999	39311	62626	79550	100348	122540	163725	256395	307130
<10,000	121673	121745	158319	195690	215635	232955	282855	280205
BRITISH COLUMBIA								
100,000+	344833	790464	867691	988150	1090895	1219035	1350155	1449530
10,000-99,999	289947	67428	152978	200021	356000	478830	578645	645300
<10,000	158691	168575	161256	222322	207515	199230	210615	190220

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1976-1989

	CANADA		NEWFOUNDLAND		P.E.I.		NOVA SCOTIA		NEW BRUNSWICK		QUEBEC	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
1976	62.98	56.16	56.35	40.06	58.91	55.50	58.65	51.41	58.92	49.46	60.20	53.36
1977	63.36	57.73	57.56	41.20	58.25	56.19	58.84	51.25	57.99	57.09	60.62	54.66
1978	64.50	58.75	58.34	42.89	61.74	55.56	59.72	52.65	59.58	57.24	61.75	55.41
1979	65.28	59.40	59.31	43.84	60.55	58.33	60.72	52.52	59.18	58.32	61.99	56.09
1980	65.90	60.03	60.07	44.09	57.97	59.76	62.35	52.53	59.61	59.05	63.09	56.35
1981	66.77	60.04	59.22	44.65	56.46	59.80	62.14	52.76	60.67	52.88	63.70	56.20
1982	66.16	59.46	59.33	44.16	58.75	57.37	61.49	52.68	59.48	51.48	62.49	55.14
1983	66.14	60.23	58.47	44.54	60.74	60.06	62.09	52.85	60.47	51.58	62.50	56.63
1984	66.54	60.67	59.58	44.52	61.40	60.11	64.04	54.25	60.93	50.64	63.16	57.37
1985	67.13	60.45	61.27	45.03	61.99	61.85	62.79	53.53	61.16	52.35	64.08	56.74
1986	67.41	61.11	61.13	45.45	60.60	62.70	64.04	53.34	61.16	53.67	64.00	57.79
1987	67.93	61.65	60.74	45.65	61.74	63.34	64.30	54.05	61.00	55.33	65.01	58.67
1988	68.09	63.02	61.98	47.32	62.68	64.60	64.11	56.24	63.06	54.49	65.21	60.45
1989	68.52	62.96	61.77	49.64	63.84	65.53	64.13	57.28	62.97	55.93	65.60	59.59

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1976-1989

	ONTARIO		MANITOBA		SASKATCHEWAN		ALBERTA		B.C.	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
1976	64.83	60.42	63.33	57.10	64.56	56.82	68.13	65.15	62.22	58.11
1977	65.32	60.70	63.64	57.49	64.11	59.64	68.34	65.28	62.37	59.38
1978	66.31	62.46	64.97	58.72	63.88	60.39	69.90	65.56	63.78	60.28
1979	67.61	62.67	65.43	60.19	64.11	60.71	71.28	67.01	63.95	60.69
1980	67.59	63.58	65.91	61.27	63.81	61.75	72.81	67.60	64.87	61.63
1981	68.65	63.62	65.97	62.35	65.46	61.23	74.17	69.12	65.76	63.11
1982	68.23	63.79	66.16	61.89	65.84	61.50	73.06	68.88	65.46	61.23
1983	68.05	64.18	67.01	62.60	66.78	63.15	72.99	69.21	65.24	61.38
1984	68.49	64.44	66.42	63.26	67.01	63.55	73.59	69.03	64.76	62.28
1985	69.15	64.00	67.03	62.92	67.37	65.09	73.16	69.31	65.60	60.58
1986	69.49	64.60	67.41	64.01	67.72	65.34	73.39	69.53	66.36	61.12
1987	70.02	65.19	67.41	64.25	67.44	65.26	73.33	69.04	66.72	61.59
1988	70.29	66.73	67.65	64.21	67.29	65.46	73.36	70.39	66.24	63.47
1989	70.67	66.36	68.10	64.44	67.57	64.63	73.39	70.16	67.32	64.55

EMPLOYMENT RATIOS
(EMPLOYMENT/POPULATION 15 AND OVER, EXPRESSED AS A %)
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1976-1989

	CANADA		NEWFOUNDLAND		P.E.I.		NOVA SCOTIA		NEW BRUNSWICK		QUEBEC	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
1976	58.72	51.94	49.45	33.68	53.65	50.01	53.24	46.34	53.86	42.92	55.51	47.22
1977	58.53	52.24	49.97	32.81	52.74	50.55	52.91	45.50	51.62	42.65	54.79	47.90
1978	59.36	53.24	49.93	34.43	56.28	49.77	53.73	46.84	53.45	43.38	55.37	48.49
1979	60.68	54.34	51.42	35.70	53.53	51.92	54.60	47.23	53.75	44.91	56.33	49.91
1980	61.26	54.94	53.08	36.98	51.26	53.67	56.34	47.38	53.86	46.09	57.12	50.13
1981	61.91	55.08	51.63	37.56	49.38	53.48	55.84	47.49	55.16	45.65	57.41	49.59
1982	59.05	52.58	50.15	35.77	49.88	50.58	53.77	45.47	52.10	43.43	54.32	46.47
1983	58.33	53.02	48.79	34.64	53.37	52.68	54.26	45.65	52.63	43.13	54.11	47.95
1984	59.16	53.65	49.18	33.24	54.34	52.09	55.93	46.95	53.01	42.38	55.34	49.27
1985	60.26	53.72	51.11	33.11	54.66	52.75	54.46	46.01	53.04	43.34	56.67	49.53
1986	61.21	54.68	51.96	34.19	53.45	53.85	55.74	46.23	53.97	44.46	57.24	50.69
1987	62.09	55.75	52.15	35.30	54.78	54.47	56.90	46.73	54.20	46.89	58.42	52.36
1988	63.02	57.55	54.01	37.33	55.60	55.75	57.70	50.31	56.79	46.62	59.21	54.44
1989	63.64	57.41	54.53	39.32	55.94	55.82	58.13	51.16	56.91	47.14	59.79	53.22

EMPLOYMENT RATIOS
(EMPLOYMENT/POPULATION 15 AND OVER, EXPRESSED AS A %)
CANADA and the PROVINCES: 1976-1989

	ONTARIO		MANITOBA		SASKATCHEWAN		ALBERTA		B.C.	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
1976	60.90	56.50	60.23	55.00	61.55	55.18	65.32	63.03	57.04	52.72
1977	61.02	56.46	59.78	54.43	60.78	57.57	65.08	62.72	57.26	53.76
1978	61.79	58.08	60.62	55.62	59.91	58.28	66.33	63.05	58.65	54.85
1979	63.56	58.53	61.79	57.49	60.58	58.96	68.34	64.79	59.18	55.71
1980	63.44	59.19	62.09	58.35	60.07	59.77	69.88	65.47	60.77	56.66
1981	64.21	59.26	61.74	59.33	61.58	59.16	71.18	66.85	61.77	57.70
1982	61.58	57.60	60.09	57.86	60.83	58.70	66.99	64.53	58.11	52.17
1983	61.00	57.68	60.04	58.26	60.57	59.79	64.29	63.72	56.44	52.23
1984	62.38	58.61	60.33	59.05	60.19	59.95	64.16	63.72	55.57	52.30
1985	63.68	58.61	61.12	58.79	60.94	60.89	65.20	63.76	56.62	51.03
1986	64.76	59.71	61.82	60.11	61.45	61.56	65.54	64.09	58.48	52.07
1987	65.82	61.00	62.04	60.52	61.57	61.49	65.91	63.22	58.92	53.68
1988	66.89	62.93	62.16	59.77	61.59	61.28	67.03	65.79	59.64	55.94
1989	67.20	62.53	62.75	60.10	61.68	60.84	67.65	66.17	61.55	57.28

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
CANADA AND THE PROVINCES 1976-1989

	CANADA		NEWFOUNDLAND		P.E.I.		NOVA SCOTIA		NEW BRUNSWICK		QUEBEC	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
1976	6.76	7.52	12.25	15.94	8.93	9.90	9.22	9.86	8.59	13.23	7.79	11.51
1977	7.63	9.51	13.20	20.38	9.46	10.05	10.08	11.21	10.98	25.29	9.62	12.36
1978	7.96	9.38	14.43	19.72	8.85	10.41	10.03	11.03	10.29	24.22	10.33	12.49
1979	7.05	8.51	13.29	18.57	11.59	10.99	10.07	10.08	9.17	23.00	9.14	11.01
1980	7.04	8.48	11.63	16.14	11.58	10.19	9.64	9.81	9.65	21.96	9.46	11.04
1981	7.28	8.27	12.80	15.87	12.54	10.58	10.13	10.00	9.09	13.66	9.88	11.77
1982	10.74	11.57	15.48	19.00	15.10	11.85	12.56	13.68	12.39	15.64	13.08	15.72
1983	11.80	11.97	16.55	22.23	12.13	12.29	12.60	13.64	12.96	16.39	13.43	15.32
1984	11.09	11.57	17.46	25.34	11.49	13.34	12.67	13.45	13.00	16.32	12.38	14.12
1985	10.23	11.13	16.58	26.49	11.83	14.72	13.27	14.04	13.28	17.22	11.56	12.72
1986	9.20	10.52	14.99	24.78	11.80	14.11	12.96	13.34	11.76	17.18	10.56	12.29
1987	8.60	9.57	14.14	22.68	11.28	14.01	11.50	13.54	11.14	15.25	10.14	10.75
1988	7.45	8.69	12.85	21.10	11.30	13.69	10.00	10.55	9.94	14.43	9.20	9.94
1989	7.11	8.81	11.71	20.79	12.37	14.83	9.37	10.68	9.63	15.71	8.87	10.68

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
CANADA AND THE PROVINCES 1976-1989

	ONTARIO		MANITOBA		SASKATCHEWAN		ALBERTA		B.C.	
	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU	SRU	NSRU
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1978	6.82	7.02	6.70	5.28	6.21	3.49	5.10	3.82	8.04	9.00
1979	5.98	6.61	5.57	4.50	5.50	2.88	4.12	3.31	7.47	8.22
1980	6.14	6.89	5.80	4.78	5.85	3.20	4.02	3.16	6.32	8.07
1981	6.47	6.86	6.42	4.84	5.94	3.39	4.04	3.29	6.07	8.57
1982	9.74	9.70	9.18	6.50	7.61	4.56	8.31	6.31	11.23	14.79
1983	10.36	10.13	10.41	6.93	9.30	5.32	11.92	7.93	13.48	14.90
1984	8.92	9.04	9.17	6.66	10.19	5.67	12.83	7.69	14.20	16.03
1985	7.90	8.42	8.82	6.56	9.55	6.45	10.88	8.01	13.69	15.77
1986	6.81	7.56	8.29	6.09	9.25	5.79	10.69	7.83	11.88	14.80
1987	6.00	6.44	7.97	5.80	8.70	5.78	10.12	8.44	11.69	12.84
1988	4.84	5.69	8.11	6.92	8.47	6.38	8.63	6.55	9.96	11.87
1989	4.90	5.77	7.85	6.73	8.72	5.88	7.83	5.69	8.57	11.27

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